6.3 Michelangelo's *Pieta* (a representation of Mary with the dead Christ across her knees)

6.4 Michelangelo's *The Fall of Man*

style. Many non-religious themes were also depicted. But whatever the subject, its portrayal was humanist.

The sculpture of the Ranaissance period underwent broadly the same development as painting. The medieval sculpture comprised mainly images of saints and depiction of religious themes as a part of architecture. One of the significant developments now was the emergence of the free-standing sculpture, that is, sculptures not directly carved on the wall surface as a part of the building. They stood apart from the building as separate and independent works of art. As in the case of painting, the growing knowledge of anatomy and the new standards of beauty influenced the development of sculpture.

The Renaissance period also marks the beginning of the decline of Gothic architecture which had dominated the architecture of cathedrals and churches from the 12th and 13th centuries. The basic features of this architecture were rib-vaults, sharply pointed arches and buttresses. The Gothic structures had lofty spires. They had stained-glass windows and carved facades and were decorated with representations of mythical creatures. The Ranaissance architects considered Gothic architecture as ascetic and other-worldly and used the word 'Gothic' to disparage it as something barbarian. New styles of architecture were developing, first in Italy and later in other

parts of Europe. These were based on the study of the ancient Roman architecture. The finest specimen of the new style was St. Peter's Church in Rome, the building of which was started by Bramante and continued by Michelangelo. The buildings in the new style, many of which were churches, have been described as expressing ideals which were purely secular, ideals of 'joy in this life and pride in human achievement'.

Renaissance Literature

The most significant feature of the impact of Renaissance on literature was the use of the languages spoken by the people of a region or country in literary writings. Until about the 14th century, there were hardly any writings in any of the languages that are spoken by the people of different countries of Europe—Italian, Spanish, French, German, English, etc. The language of scholarship and literature for centuries had been Latin which only the educated, who constituted a very small part of the population, could understand. The Renaissance marks the emergence of modern European languages as languages of literature and that was the beginning of the development of these languages. In a short period, these languages almost completely replaced Latin as the language of poetry, drama and fiction. Latin continued, however, to be the language of philosophy and science for some more time. The Renaissance writers had a mastery over Latin and the other classical European language, Greek. But they chose to write in their local languages. This development was closely related to the rise of national consciousness in different countries of Europe.

The first significant work in a modern European language was Dante's *Divine Comedy*. Dante wrote much in Latin, but he preferred to write in the language of his own state, Tuscan, which later became the Italian language. The *Divine Comedy* is one of the greatest works of Italian literature. Petrarch, an equally great writer, followed Dante. Historians consider him the founder of humanism. Like Dante, he also wrote poetry in Italian language. Many of the Renaissance writings dealt with other subjects besides religion, and became famed as masterpieces in their time and have remained classics ever since.

Of the Renaissance scholars in northern Europe, an outstanding Dutch writer of that time was Erasmus, who ridiculed corrupt practices in the Church. Another was the English author, Thomas More, who pictured an ideal society in his book *Utopia*. Machiavelli, a historian of Florence, is the father of modern political

6.5 Erasmus

philosophy. His book *The Prince* was concerned with the new concept of 'state' as it was emerging in Europe, and the art of governing successfully. Machiavelli thought of a state as being independent and supreme, and one in which political matters are separated from religion. *Don Quixote* bv Cervantes, a Spaniard, made fun of medieval knights and their ideas of chivalry. The essays of Francis Bacon, an English scholar, are full of wisdom on many subjects. The works of English poet and dramatist, Willian Shakespeare, deal with every possible human emotion of man, his strengths and weaknesses. For this reason, Shakespeare's plays are almost as modern today as they were when first staged, in the 16th century. Rebelais, the French writer, who was educated in theology and medicine, was thoroughly in tune with the spirit of the Renaissance. His wit and satire were directed against popular beliefs in astrology and superstition. His great works are *Pantagruel* and *Gargantua*, named after two mythical medieval giants.

The works of all these writers show how the Renaissance spirit was focussing genuine interest on the affairs of man.

6.6 Frontispiece of an old edition of Cervantes' *Don Quixote*

The Invention of Printing

The invention of the printing press encouraged interest in the writing of books and in reading. Credit for this invention, which was made in the first half of the 15th century, goes to Gutenberg and Caster. Printing made books available to more people. It may be remembered that the total number of books available in Europe till the late 15th century was very small. The first 'printed' book, the Gutenberg Bible, was brought out in 1456. Until the invention of printing, books were manuscripts, that is, hand written. They were copied in hand by scribes and were mostly available in the libraries of monasteries. Even people who could read had thus very little access to books. But most people could neither read nor write. It has been estimated that during the first half of 15th century, there were only about 100,000 manuscripts in Europe. In fifty years' time, after the introduction of the printing press, there were nine million books. This was a significant development

6.7 A printing house of the 16th century

but its impact took a long time to be felt. The printed books were also expensive and only the rich people could afford to buy them. The vast majority of the people remained, in any case, illiterate. The number of people who could read and write (mostly the people belonging to the middle class) had certainly gone up and the new literature deeply influenced their attitude to life.

Beginning of Modern Science

The Renaissance marked the beginning of modern science. As has been stated earlier, the intellectual life in medieval Europe was dominated by the Church. According to the medieval European way of thinking, any view to be held true must be supported by the authority of the scriptures, of the Church, or of ancient philosophers *whose views had been accepted by the Church.* The Renaissance thinkers rejected the blind acceptance of authority. They asserted that knowledge could be gained 'by going out and studying mentally and manually the Book of Nature', and not by speculation. This new outlook marked a break with the past and prepared the way for the advancement of science. It was summed up by Francis Bacon, an English philosopher, who said that knowledge can be gained only by observation and experimentation. According to Bacon, he who seeks knowledge should *first look at things that happen in the world around him.* He should then ask himself *what causes these things to happen* and, after he has formed a theory or belief, as to the possible cause, he should experiment. *The experiment is to test his belief* and see whether the assumed cause does, in fact, produce the result he has observed. Bacon believed

6.8 Copernicus

that the 'true and lawful end of the sciences is that human life be enriched by new discoveries and powers.'

One of the first achievements of the Renaissance in science was in astronomy. This was an exposition by Copernicus, of the rotation of the earth on its axis and its motion around the sun. Copernicus was a Polish scholar who lived in Italy for many years. This was an important break with the ancient system of thought. For over a thousand years, it was believed that the earth was the centre of the universe. It was one of the basic dogmas of the philosophers of the time. Its refutation was an attack on the conception of the universe held by the Church. This was, therefore, condemned as a heresy. Copernicus' book *On the Revolution of the Celestial Orbs* was published in 1543, the

6.9 Galileo, from the frontispiece of one of his books

year in which he died. He had hesitated from publishing it for fear of the hostility of the Church. While the theory awaited final confirmation by Galileo later, the very idea of an open universe of which the earth was but a small part shattered the earlier view of a closed universe created and maintained in motion by God. About half

6.10 Title page of Vesalius book *De Humani Corporis Fabrica*, published in 1543

a century after the publication of Copernicus' book, in 1600, Giordano Bruno was burnt at the stake on the charge of heresy. He had advocated ideas which were based on Copernicus' view of the universe.

The decisive proof of the new conception of the universe was made possible by the invention of the telescope which has been called the greatest scientific instrument of the age. Galileo, born eleven years after the death of Copernicus, used this instrument in his study of the heavenly bodies and Copernicus' theory was confirmed by Galileo's observations. Galileo was tried by the Church in his old age and was condemned and forced to recant his views. He was awarded nominal inprisonment and allowed to carry on his scientific work which was not directly connected with astronomy. Galileo's trial marked the end of a period in the history of science. The condemnation of Galileo was not a popular one and attempts to enforce the acceptance of the old views of the universe were quietly dropped.

Another scientist, Kepler from Germany, explained with the help of mathematics how planets move around the sun. He set down the principle, or law, which governs these movements and described their path. Isaac Newton continued the work started by Kepler. Again, with the help of mathematics, Newton proved that all the heavenly bodies move according to the law of gravitation.

The modern age of science that began with these Renaissance scientists not only increased man's knowledge but also established a method of study that could be applied to other branches of knowledge. Significant discoveries, for example were made in the study of the human body and circulation of the blood which helped to fight many superstitions. In 1543, the year in which Copenicus' book was published, Vesalius, a Belgian, published his profusely illustrated *De Humani Corporis Fabrica*. Based on his study of the dissections of the human body, this book provided the first complete description of the anatomy of the human body. Servetus, a Spaniard, published a book explaining the circulation of blood. He was condemned to death for questioning the Church belief in Trinity. A complete account of the constant process of circulation of blood, from the heart to all parts of the body and back to the heart was given by Harvey, an Englishman, in about 1610. This knowledge helped to correct many errors of the past and started a new approach to the study of the problems of health and disease.

The knowledge gained by the new discoveries did not become immediately widespread although the printing press greatly helped the dissemination of ideas. It took a long time before the new discoveries became widely known and began to be applied. In arithmetic, for example, the Arabic numerals, borrowed by the Arabs from India, had reached Europe in the 13th century. However, for a long time, the voyagers continued to use the Roman numerals in their books. With the growth in the volume of trade and commerce, the Arabic numerals simplified the keeping of accounts. Their use was, of course, of very great importance in the development of mathematics.

It is important to remember that what the Renaissance scientists began learning by questioning, observation, and experimentation is the method that scientists continue to use even today. This is the scientific method. It is by applying this method that our knowledge

has grown so greatly.

REFORMATION

The term 'Reformation' refers to two major developments in the history of Europe towards the later part of the Renaissance. The first was the Protestant Reformation which resulted in a split in Christianity and the secession of a large number of countries from the Roman Catholic Church and establishment of separate Churches in those countries, generally on national lines. The second development concerned reforms within the Roman Catholic Church, generally referred to as Catholic Reformation or Counter Reformation. But Reformation was not merely a religious movement. It was intimately connected with, and was in fact a part of, the social and political movements of the period which brought about the end of the medieval period and the emergence of the modern world.

The Catholic Church, during the early medieval period, had become a vast hierarchical organization headed by the Pope in Rome. The Pope was the supreme authority over the entire hierarchy and he exercised this authority directly. The position of the Pope is often described by the phrase 'papal monarchy'. Systematic efforts were made to extend the authority of the Church over everyone, high or low. Making an oral confession of his sins to a priest at least once a year and suffering the punishment imposed was made obligatory for everyone. The people who did not follow this were excommunicated. An excommunicated person was supposed to have been temporarily consigned to hell. If he died, his body could not be buried with the prescribed rituals. Other Christians were forbidden from associating with him.

An important component of the religious thinking propagated by the Church was the theory of sacraments. A sacrament was defined as an instrument by which divine grace is communicated to men. The sacraments were regarded indispensable for securing God's grace and there was no salvation without them. Another was the theory of priesthood. It was held that the priest who was ordained by a bishop (who was confirmed by the Pope) was the inheritor of a part of the authority conferred by Christ on Peter. The priest, according to this theory, had the power to co-operate with God in performing certain miracles and in releasing sinners from the consequences of their sins. Besides the sacraments, various other beliefs came to be accepted. About such beliefs Erasmus wrote in his *Praise of Folly*, "To this same class of fools belong those who beguile themselves with the silly but pleasing notion that if they look upon a picture or image of St. Christopher... they will not die that day, or that he who salutes an image of St. Barbara with the proper form of address will come back from the battle safe; or that one who approaches St. Erasmus on certain days with wax candles and prayers will soon be rich... each saint has his office allotted to him, and is addressed each in his special way; this one is called upon to alleviate toothache; that, to aid in childbirth; others to restore a stolen article... or protect cattle...."

Evils of the Catholic Church

Reformation is often described as a revolt against abuses which had grown in the Catholic Church. Some of the priests and higher-ups in the Church hierarchy received their appointments through

corrupt means. Many such appointees were utterly ignorant. They led lives of luxury and immorality. Religious offices were sold to the highest bidder and those who bought positions after spending money made good by taking high fees for the services they performed. The Popes and the higher clergy lived like princes. A new abuse was the sale of letters which remitted punishments of the sinners who bought them, both in this life and after their death in purgatory. Normally, the priests imposed a penance or punishment on a person who had sinned and he was required to perform a special service or make a pilgrimage to a holy place. But increasingly sinners with enough money could be freed from doing penance for their sins by paying the clergy for a 'Letter of Indulgence'. The sale of indulgences which began to be considered as passports to heaven became one of the major immediate issues which caused the Protestant Reformation.

Any opinion or doctrine contrary to the Church dogma was considered heretical and was punished. The Church had established a vast machine to suppress heresy. Inquisition or a tribunal had been instituted for the discovery and punishment of heresy. Any deviation and dissent from the dogma and protest against the abuses of the Church was suppressed and heretics began to be burnt at the stake. You have already read about the burning of Bruno and Servetus. The inquisitor, who wore black garments and a black cowl over the head, would enter a village or town with his staff and summon the inhabitants to report any heretic or any person they suspected of heresy. Besides other punishments such as execution by burning at the stake, the property of the heretics was confiscated and distributed among the informer, the inquisitor and the Church.

Besides the sale of indulgences, one could now gain salvation in exchange for fees. The priests, the bishops and the wandering monks could pronounce a marriage lawful or unlawful. By payment of fees, the problem could be solved. There were fees for every transaction in life, from birth to death, fees for the peace of the soul and fees for the souls of the people dead long ago. The wandering monks carried portable altars which they set up when they wanted to, heard confessions, awarded punishments for sins and remitted the punishments for fees.

Protests against the Church

From the 14th century, opposition to some of the Church practices and doctrines began to grow. The language of the Catholic Church was Latin which the common people did not understand. The scriptures were not available in any of the modern European languages. Latin, Hebrew and Greek were considered sacred languages. Translation of the scriptures into any other language, it was believed, would destroy the sanctity of the text. However, Wycliffe asserted that if the scriptures were the only source of the faith and of the true Christianity, and contained the only standard of righteousness, then the salvation of the people lay in their knowing what the scriptures said. For this it was necessary that they were translated into the languages of the people. Wycliffe was the inspirer and sponsor of the first English translation of the Bible. He recruited what were known as Poor Preachers to spread the knowledge of the scriptures among the common people. After his death in 1384, some of his followers went even beyond his

ideas and condemned many Church doctrines and practices. In one of their writings, it is said, "We think truly that the holy water used in Church would be the best medicine for all kinds of illnesses—sores, for instance; whereas we experience the contrary every day." In 1401, Parliament of England passed a law,'On the Desirability of Burning Heretics'. Thirty-four years after his death, Wycliffe was found guilty of heresy. His bones were taken out of the grave, burnt and the ashes thrown into the river. In 1526, Tyndale smuggled into England printed copies of his own English rendering of the Bible. He was arrested and executed.

The teachings of Wycliffe were spread outside England by his students. One of them, John Huss from Czechoslovakia, was found guilty of heresy and burnt at the stake in 1415. There was a powerful uprising in his country after his execution which led to the establishment of a republic for a few years.

Martin Luther and Protestant Reformation

The Protestant Revolution can be said to have begun in 1517 when Martin Luther, a monk of the Order of St. Augustine, nailed his ninety-five theses or statements which attacked the sale of indulgences, on the door of the Church in Wittenberg in Germany. He challenged people to come and hold debates with him on his theses and sent copies of his theses to his friends in a number of cities.

During the next two years, Luther wrote a series of pamphlets. He knew that his doctrines could not be reconciled with those of the Catholic Church and that he had no alternative but to break with the Catholic Church. In 1520, the Pope ordered him to recant within sixty days or

6.11 Martin Luther

be condemned as a heretic. Luther burnt the proclamation of the Pope in public. During this period, he was protected by the ruler of Saxony who was his friend. Many rulers in Germany were hostile to the Church and when Luther was excommunicated, he remained unharmed. During the next 25 years, he occupied himself with the task of building an independent German Church, and in expounding his doctrine. He rejected the entire system of the hierarchy of the Catholic Church, introduced German as the language of Church services, abolished the special status of priests as representatives of God on earth, eliminated most of the sacraments, and emphasized faith rather than pilgrimages. He gave the highest priority to the supreme authority of the scriptures. Another important change was the abandonment of the view of the Catholic Church that the church was supreme over

6.12 An allegorical representation of Reformation. Martin Luther is condemning the high authorities of the church to hell.

the state.

The German rulers and common people of Germany supported Luther. There were political reasons for the support of the rulers. They wanted to be free from the authority of Popes and get possession of the wealth in German monasteries for themselves. The common people liked Luther's teaching because it gave them an opportunity to demand more freedom from their rulers. The break with the Catholic Church was followed by a peasant revolt. Luther sided with the rulers and the lords in suppressing the peasants' revolt. He advocated the hunting down of rebels. Among the rebels were people belonging to a sect called the Anabaptists who are considered the most radical reformers of the time. They advocated complete separation of the Church from the state, and denied the necessity of the priests, denounced the accumulation of wealth and distinctions of rank, and considered it the duty of Christians to share their things in common.

Political Factors

While discussing the background of the Protestant Reformation, we have referred mainly to conflicts over religious doctrines and practices and their abuses by the Church. While the importance of these factors should not be under-estimated, they need to be seen in the context of the political and economic developments in the period. This was a period when, in different countries of Europe, there was a rise of national consciousness among the people. There was a growing consciousness among the people of every

country that they were distinct from the others and must not be ruled over by others who were foreigners, and that they should have their own government and ruler, independent of any outside control. Unlike in the medieval period, states were beginning to be formed on the basis of this national consciousness. The social and economic changes that had taken place, for example, the growing importance of merchants, had strengthened this process. The Roman Catholic Church asserted its supremacy over all people in all matters, including in the matter of appointment and deposition of kings. Thus, there was a basic antagonism between the growing national consciousness and the Church. There could be no growth in nationalism without a decrease in the power of the Church.

The rise of states based on national consciousness was accompanied by the rise of absolutism or despotism. The rulers of states claimed total supremacy within their realms. They even claimed that their right to rule was a divine right. These rulers wanted complete authority not only over worldly affairs (which right the Popes also claimed) but also control over the Churches and the priesthood within their kingdoms.

There were also various economic factors. The churches and the monasteries under control of the Popes had enormous wealth and owned vast stretches of lands. The Church imposed various kinds of taxes, for example Peter's Pence and the *tithe*. Most of these taxes, collected from different countries of Europe, reached Rome. Similarly, the proceeds from the sales of indulgences were sent to Rome. While the common people disliked that a large portion of their wealth should be sent to Rome, their rulers saw the opportunity of increasing their wealth by confiscating Church properties. The Church properties were exempt from taxes and, therefore, the burden of taxation within a state fell on the merchants and the new class of capitalists who was rising. While religious differences perhaps could have been sorted out, but these antagonisms between the Church and the state could not be reconciled. The Protestant Reformation did not, nor was it meant to, lead to the establishment of a universal Protestant Church under a single authority like the Catholic Church was under the Popes. It led to the establishment of separate national Churches under the control of the state.

Spread of Protestant Reformation

After the success of Luther in Germany, the Protestant Reformation spread to many other countries. The doctrines of the Protestants everywhere were not the same. In Switzerland, the Protestant Reformation was led by Zwingli and John Calvin. In fact, Calvin's ideas gained much more support in different parts of Europe than those of Luther. Calvin was opposed to gaiety in any form, even to colour. Among Calvinists there were, however, many distinguished scholars and men of strong character. Religious sects similar to the Calvinists were called Puritans in England and America, Presbyterians in Scotland and Huguenots in France. In the Scandinavian countries— Denmark, Norway and Sweden— the rulers accepted Luther's religion and the Protestant Lutheran Church became the official church in the Scandinavian countries.

In England, Henry VIII declared himself the head of the Church when the Pope would not give him permission to divorce

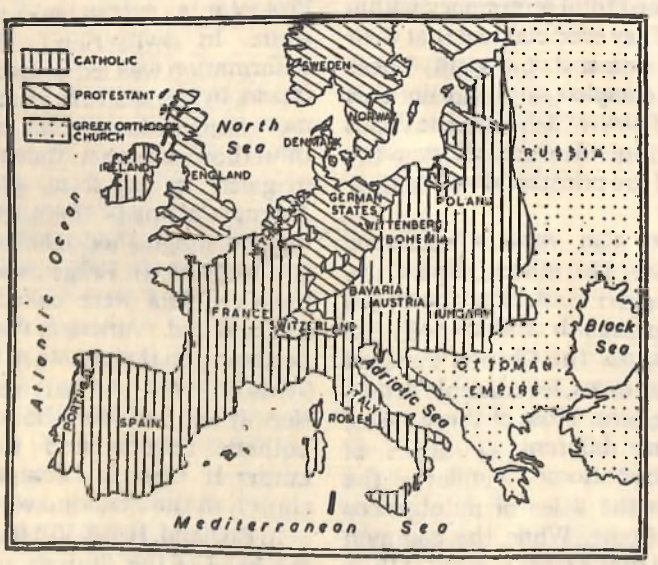
his wife, Catherine. Henry VIII's reign was followed by a long conflict between Catholics and Protestants. In 1559, Queen Elizabeth I established the Church of England as the official church. Religious conflicts continued to rock England and the continent for another century. But by the 17th century, half of Europe had adopted one or the other of the Protestant creeds.

Catholic Reformation

The Protestant Reformation was followed by a realization by the Catholics, including the Popes, the priests, the Catholic rulers and scholars, that the spread of Protestantism could not be checked by persecution or by political and military means. What was needed was a moral regeneration of the Catholic Church and the Papacy. A series of measures were taken to introduce reforms in the Catholic Church. The period in which Catholic Church officials attempted reform and worked to bring back to the Church some of its lost power is known as the *Counter Reformation* or the *Catholic Reformation*. In Spain, where there were no Protestants, a soldier named Loyola started an organization for clergymen to work wholly as 'soldiers of Jesus' in the service of the Church. Its members came to be called Jesuits. They went from place to place and won back followers in France and Germany. They established missions in India, China, Africa, and the Americas to gain new adherents. The Jesuit schools which they started to strengthen the Roman Catholic Church are still in existence in many countries of the world.

Conflicts in the Name of Religion

The Reformation brought about a split in Western Christendom and, along with it, for a long time an increase in religious



Religious situation in Europe in about 1600

6.13 A woodcut showing the burning of witches in 1555

conflicts and wars. The hatred that developed between Protestants and Catholics during and following the Reformation knew no bounds. In a period of about 25 years from 1560's, eight religious wars ravaged France. Cruel persecutions and wars resulted, encouraged by fanatics with no regards for the teaching of Jesus Christ. In the Netherlands, thousands of followers of Calvin were burnt or hanged. Religious persecution in England drove Puritans to North America where their colonies helped to lay the foundation of the United States. It brought about the Civil War in England and the execution of King Charles I. The period from 1560 to 1630 was the worst period in the history of witch-hunting. It assumed the proportions of a craze. Innocent women were caught, accused of being witches and burnt.

EXPLORATION, DISCOVERY, TRADE

The same spirit of curiosity that led some of Europe's Renaissance men to effect new developments in art, literature, science, and religion led others to adventure and the discovery of new lands. The main motivation behind these adeventures was the profits that trade with the East would bring. After his first voyage to India, for example, Vasco Da Gama found that the price of pepper in Calicut was one- twentysixth of the price prevailing in Venice. The prospects of huge profits made governments and financiers undertake the organization of voyages on a scale that was unimaginable before.

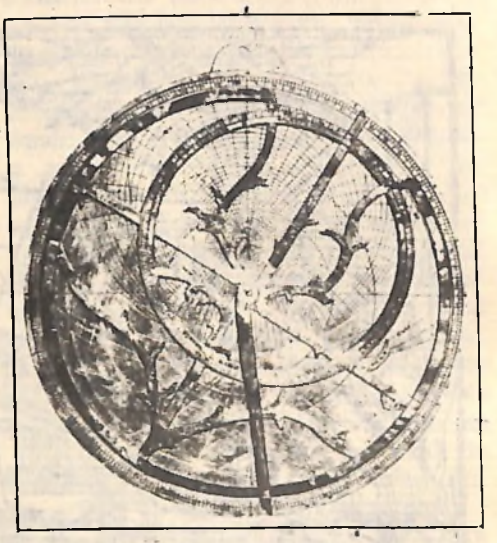
The world of the Greeks and the Romans was the territory around the Mediterranean Sea. In the 13th century, Marco Polo travelled from Venice to China

and Japan. His description of the East after his return had become popular reading. From his writings the Europeans learned about the rich cities of China, the golden towers of Japan, the pagodas of Burma and Thailand (Siam), the spices of the East Indies, and the luxuries of India.

After the Crusades, the Europeans became increasingly interested in the East, largely through the stories brought back by travellers and traders by way of Constantinople. The prosperity of the Italian cities that had grown rich from their trade with eastern countries aroused the envy of the other European nations; they longed to have a share in the trade. The trade, especially in spices, was very profitable. But after 1453, the Turks cut off this trade through Asia Minor and if the Europeans were to continue to have spices, these products had to be brought by a different route. Finding new routes was a challenge to the adventurous sailors of the Renaissance.

Until the later part of the fifteenth century, a large part of the world was unknown to the people living in any area of the world. The existence of the Americas, Australia, New Zealand and large parts of Africa and Asia was unknown to people living outside these areas. The vast Atlantic Ocean had remained uncharted and the possibility of the existence of a vast landmass on the other side of the Atlantic was rarely imagined. It was known that one could cricumnavigate or sail around Africa, though many people did not rule out the possibility that the sailors might sail on for ever on an endless ocean or they might fall down from the earth when they reached its end.

The first great steps in the exploration of the earth were taken by the sailors



6.14 An Arab astrolabe of the 12th century

under the patronage of Portuguese and Spanish rulers. The compass and the astrolabe, the essential navigational instruments for long journeys across the oceans, had become known and astronomical tables and the art of mapping, essential for sailors, had been developing fast.

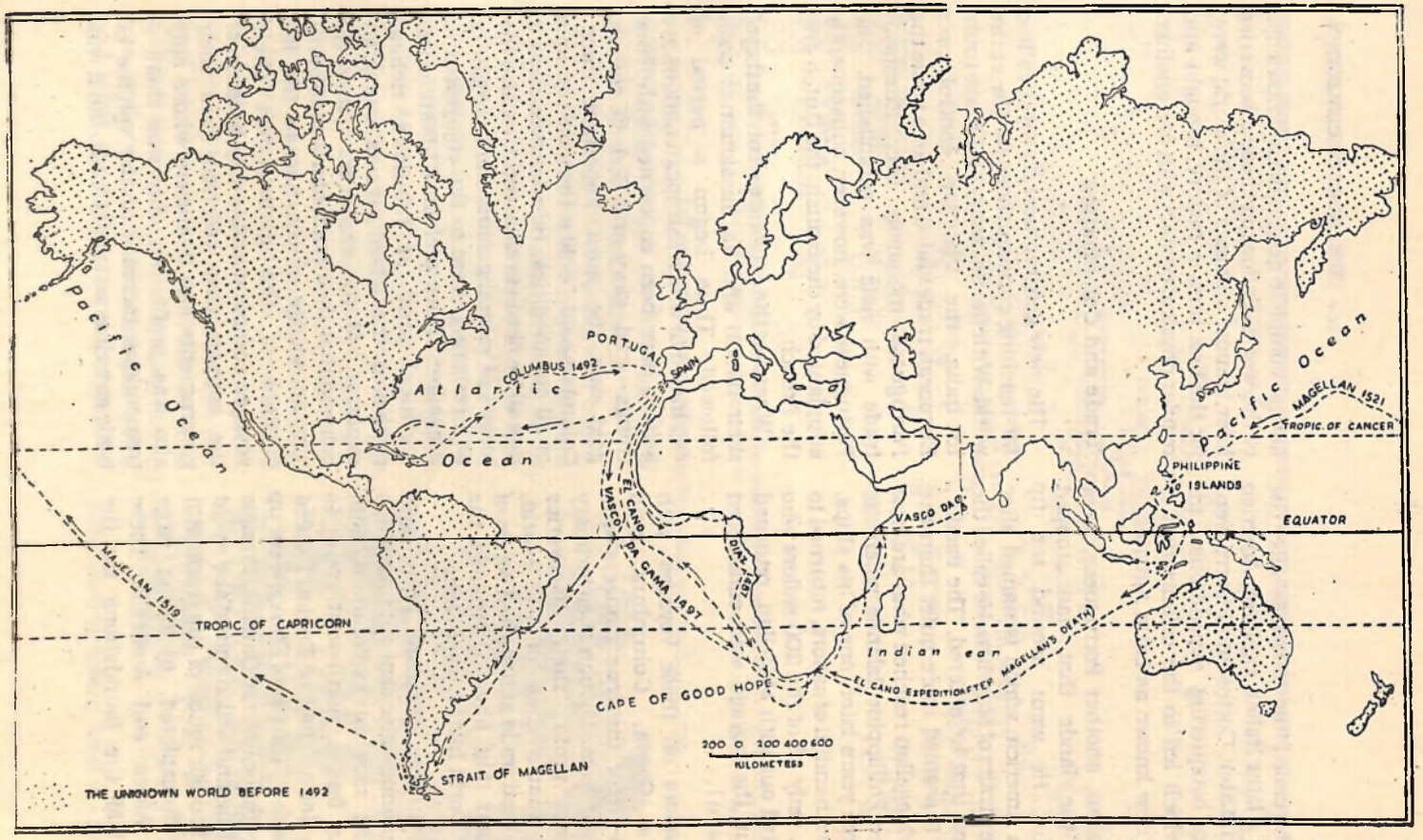
Great Explorations : 1492—1520

Prince Henry, the Navigator of Portugal, encouraged sailors by making maps based on trips to the African coast. One man, Bartholomew Diaz, had reached the point which the Portuguese named Cape of Good Hope. Then Vasco da Gama followed this route and sailed on, round the Cape and reached Calicut in India, in 1498. When he returned to Portugal with a cargo of spices, worth sixty times the cost of the trip, the king received his with great honour.

6.15 Columbus and members of his crew trading with the inhabitants of Haiti where they had landed during Columbus's first voyage across the Atlantic

Columbus, an Italian sailor, believed that sailing west approximately 6000 km across the Atlantic Ocean would bring him to India. His trip was financed by Spain from where he sailed in 1492. When he reached land after a few weeks, he thought he had reached India; so he called the islands, 'the Indies', and the people who lived there 'Indians'. Till his death, even after three more successful voyages, Columbus remained ignorant of his great discovery. Of course, he returned with no spices. The world came to know later that Columbus had reached islands near the vast landmass completely unknown to the people elsewhere. These lands were

6.16 Amerigo Vespucci during one of his voyages



The territorial waters of India extend into the sea to a distance of twelve nautical miles measured from the appropriate base line.

Maritime Explorations and Discoveries

soon to be called 'the Americas' after the name of a later Italian explorer, Amerigo Vespucci. Later, Cortes and Pizarro went there on conquering expeditions for Spain, which led to the colonization of what is now known as Latin America.

Magellan, another Portuguese, went beyond the lands that had stopped Columbus. He went around the tip of South America, which is named after him—the Straits of Magellan. He called the new ocean that he entered, 'The Pacific', because it seemed more quiet than the Atlantic. Magellan reached what are now called the Phillippine Islands where he died. Three years later, one of his ships, with only a handful of sailors, returned to Portugal. Only 18 of the 200 sailors who had started out with Magellan, returned alive. But the voyage was considered successful.

The sailors on these voyages—with Vasco a Gama, Columbus, and Magellan—were the true pioneers who staked their lives. Though their primary object was profit, their discoveries changed man's idea of the world, revolutionized trade and started waves of colonization that have determined the course of world history ever since.

Other countries—England, France and the Netherlands—also sent out their ships to join the race for explorations. Still hoping to find a north-west route to the East, John Cabot of England sailed west to Canada. Cartier of France went up the St. Lawrence River in Canada. Francis Drake of England sailed round the world in 1577. Though much of the world still remained unexplored, including large parts of Africa and Australia, these voyages laid the foundations for the almost complete geographical knowledge of the world. Following these discoveries later, almost all areas of the world were, for the first time in history, brought into regular physical contact with one another.

Trade and Colonization

The new geographical discoveries had far-reaching consequences for the entire world. With the discovery of the sea-route to India, the Venetian control over Eurpoean trade ended and for a while the Portuguese monopoly over European trade with Asia was established. The Portuguese were, however, subsequently supplanted by the British, the Dutch and the French.

Wherever the explorers went, the flag of their nation and its missionaries soon followed. Thus began a period of expansion in which European nations are said to have been concerned with three things—gold, glory and God. Of course, gold was the most important thing. Columbus said, "Gold is the most precious of all commodities. He who possesses it has all he needs in this world, as also the means of rescuing souls from purgatory and restoring them to the enjoyment of prasadise." The search for *El Dorado*, the mythical land of fabulous riches, motivated the adventures of many an explorer. Many explorers sincerely believed that their main aim was to carry 'the knowledge of His Son to the far corners of the globe', but their voyages became possible only because of the support they received from their governments and financiers whose only aim was profit. Not only was there a tremendous increase in the volume of trade as well as articles of trade, but it was

The territorial waters of India extend into the sea to a distance of twelve nautical miles measured from the appropriate base line.

European Colonies and Trading Posts between 1500 and 1700

also the beginning of the colonization of Asia by European countries.

The colonization of Africa also began, though it was confined to the coastal areas and the large-scale conquest of Africa by the imperialist countries of Europe took place in the 19th century. In the Americas, the geographical discoveries led to the destruction of the civilizations of the Incas and the Aztecs, and the subjugation of the large indigenous population by a small number of Europeans. The Europeans plundered the gold and silver of the Incas and the Aztecs, and exploited the mines in Peru, Mexico and Bolivia, for precious metals and vast supplies of gold and silver reached Europe. The conquered people were forced to perform hard labour and, if they resisted, they were massacred. It has been estimated that between 1492 and 1538, the indigenous population of

6.16a American Indians forced to work in mines

what was called Hispaniola under the Spanish rule, which included Haiti and Dominican Republic, was reduced from 25000 to 500. The first conquerors were Spain and Portugal. However, soon the English, the French and the Dutch followed. One historian has described the activities of these explorers and *conquistadors* as marked by 'envy, malice, treachery, cruelty, lechery and plain greed'.

Commodities, totally unknown or unavailable in Europe before, such as potatoes, tobacco and maize, became available in Europe and vast resources of the Americas for the production of sugar, coffee, rice and cotton began to be exploited for the benefit of the Europeans.

One of the significant developments following the conquest of the Americas by the Europeans was the introduction of the plantation system in North America, West Indies and Brazil mainly for the production of sugarcane, tobacco and cotton. These plantations were worked by slave labour form Africa. The continents of Africa and the Americas were brought together by a brutal system of exploitation. While the indigenous population of the Americas (the American Indians as they are called) were reduced to the status of serfs who worked on the estates of European colonists, the plantations were worked by slaves. Slave trade was started in the late 15th century by individual merchants, sailors and pirates, but by the end of the 16th century, it passed into the hands of regular slave trading companies, officially approved by the governments of Eurpoean countries.

6.17 Enslaved African

For about 300 years, the people of Africa were hunted, first in the coastal areas and then further into the interior, by slave traders and their agents. They were captured and transported across the Atlantic Ocean and sold to work in the plantation. Millions of Africans were captured and exported. Hundreds of thousands died during the journey because of the extremely unhygienic conditions in the ships. It is estimated that in the British colonies in the West Indies alone, more than two million slaves were imported within a period of about a hundred years. The prosperity of the European colonizers in the Americas was based on the serf and slave labour of the indigenous inhabitants of the Americas and African slaves, respectively.

These developments had a great impact on the development of Europe, particularly of those countries which were ahead of others in establishing their colonies and control over other parts of the

countries

world and in international trade. You have read earlier about the beginning of the capitalist system in Europe. These developments furthered the process of the growth of capitalism.

You have read before that as a result of the geographical discoveries, the entire world, for the first time became known and, also, that for the first time all areas of the world were brought into regular physical contact with one another. However, this regular contact was accompanied by brutal exploitation of the people of some parts of the world.

RISE OF NATION-STATES

If you looked at the political map of the 13th century Europe, you will recognize few of the nations of modern Europe. Europe was then ruled by thousands of feudal lords and political units or the states that we are familar with now did not exist. While studying feudal societies, you have read about the power and position of the feudal lords. There were kings but they had little power. To fight wars against other kings, they depended entirely on the levies provided by the lords.The boundaries of the estates of the lords and of kingdoms had no rational basis and were changing. There was nothing like a sense of common nationality which distinguished the people of one state from those of another. In the 12th century, there came into being the Holy Roman Empire. It was claimed to be a universal empire (in the same way in which the Catholic Church claimed to be the universal Church), though it included mainly Germany and Italy and the Emperor's control even in these areas was limited. The process of political development the final form of which we see in the present-day world—independent and sovereign national states—started during the Renaissance and the Reformation. This process started with the rise of national consciousness, the consciousness among a people inhabiting a more or less defined territory, that they were distinct from other peoples. It began with the emergence of national monarchies, two of the earliest being England and France.

The kings tried to establish their supremacy over the feudal lords and the conflicts between the two lasted over a long period of time. The kings were helped in their designs by the merchants and other inhabitants of the cities. You have read in an earlier section about the rise of trade and cities and of the middle class. To free themselves from interference by feudal lords and to further promote their interests, the cities needed a strong central authority which the kings, by curbing the power of the feudal lords, were trying to establish. The interests of the merchants would be promoted by strong kings who would put an end to the feudal anarchy and local disorders. The kings would also remove the restrictions on division of countries into small estates so that trade could flourish and roads and canals could be built and law and order could be enforced to facilitate trade. The kings protected the merchants of their own countries from the competition of merchants from other countries and supported them with their armed power against their rivals. The kings found in the merchants their allies who provided them the money they needed for building their own independent armies totally under their command and for creating their administrative system, the courts and

other paraphernalia of the state which could be completely under their control. Earlier, the kings were powerless against the feudal lords on whom they depended even for their soldiers. Thus a process of the destruction of the power of the feudal lords started. The process was aided by the introduction of gunpowder in Europe, against which the feudal castles and fortresses provided no defence.

There were many other reasons for the decline of the power of the feudal lords about some of which you have read earlier. As a result of all these developments, the political fragmentation which characterized the Middle Ages began to give way to the rise of strong states under kings who tried to concentrate more and more power and functions in their own hands. There were many changes in the political thinking. The medieval thinkers believed that the authority of a ruler was limited. Now the view was advocated that Christians must obey their rulers because the rulers were the representatives of God on earth. The views of Machiavelli, the most outstanding political philosopher of the times, have been mentioned earlier in this chapter. He was opposed to any limitations on the authority of the ruler. There could also be no moral or religious considerations in the governance of the state. You have read about political and national factors in the Reformation. The rise of national languages also helped the process of the emergence of strong national states by strengthening national consciousness. The process of colonial expansion which started with the discovery of new sea-routes and new lands was also connected with these developments.

6.18 Machiavelli

The First Nation States

The rise of nation-states which started in this period brought about the end of the political system of the Middle Ages.

To comprehend the nature of the political developments in this period, you should study the political developments in a few selected countries, e.g. in England and France. You should remember that the process of the formation of the nation-states took a long time.

The first nation-states where strong monarchies came to power were France and England.

France was known as a separate kingdom in the 9th century, but in the 13th century Philip Augustus was still trying to reduce the power of the feudal lords and increase his own. The Hundred Years' War, fought between England and France between 1337 and 1453, helped French kings to establish their authority. Joan of Arc roused the patriotic sentiments of the people and led the French Army in freeing the northern half

of France from England. When the war ended, the French monarch was really a national ruler, and France was on its way to becoming a modern state.

William the Conqueror established a strong monarchy in England in the 11th century. In the following two hundred years, the feudal lords increased their power, but during the 14th century, they began to lose out. They could not withstand the growth of trade and commerce and of cities, and the rise of the middle class. These things increased the financial and military powers of the king. The Wars of the Roses fought between two groups of feudal lords for control over the monarchy from 1455 to 1485 finally put an end to feudalism. The war weakened the lords; people were disgusted with feudal anarchy. Henry VII, the first king of the Tudor dynasty, established a strong monarchy with the help of the middle classes. The English monarchy grew stronger under the Tudor rulers in the 16th century.

Spain, Portugal, and Holland also began to develop into nation-states. Two of today's major European countries, Italy and Germany, however, remained divided. Neither was to be a 'nation' until the second half of the 19th century. Feudalism had disappeared in these countries by the 15th century. In Italy, a strong middle class had arisen as a result of trade with the East. However, the interference of the Pope and other powers in the affairs of Italy prevented her from becoming a single nation at this time. In Germany, the dukes were powerful, and jealously guarded their power.

Nation-States and National Rivalry

Since the rise of nation-states, beginning in the 14th century, the political history of the world has increasingly been the history of independent nation-states. The rulers or governments of these states have regarded no interest second to that of their own and respected no other authority on matters that concerned the interest of the state. Machiavelli, in his writings, had told them how to govern. A strong feeling of nationalism grew up in each state. This nationalism was often directed against other nations. It led to national jealousies and rivalries and conflicts. These rivalries were usually over trade and, later, in getting possession or control of territory in Asia or the Americas. The nations' greed for colonies, maximum profits, and national glory led to many wars between the countries of Europe. Such conflicts and wars have continued into our own times. During the past few decades attempts have been made to find ways to eliminate these conflicts and promote the idea of co-operation between nations instead of competition and rivalry.

Accomplishments of Nation-States

The nation-states have many achievements to their credit. They finally put an end to the extreme disorder of anarchy of feudal times. Along with destroying feudalism, nation-states destroyed serfdom in the countries where it had not already disappeared. The formation of nation-states was a big help in encouraging economic development—improved ways of working to produce and exchange the things that people needed. It has made national boundaries more rational than the militaristic and arbitrary limits of ancient empires and medieval estates. Nation-states have helped to unite people belonging to a common culture and thus made it possible for many groups of people to develop their talents. Through

their national loyalties people have found ways of self-expression and each nation has made special contributions that all the people of the world can share.

STRUGGLE AGAINST ABSOLUTISM

The political system that developed in the nation-states was absolutist in character. The kings were absolute rulers or 'despots', as they were called. The doctrine of divine right of kings was advocated and it was said that the kings were given the right to rule by God. An English king declared that "Kings are justly called gods for they exercise a manner of resemblance of Divine power upon earth". A French king of the 17th and early 18th century declared,*"L'e'tat C'est moi"* which means 'I am the state'. Thus the kings considered that all authority in the state was derived from their person and there were no restraints of any kind on their powers.

The absolute powers assumed by the rulers helped in putting an end to the instability that feudal system had created. It helped in building powerful states. For these reasons, these rulers enjoyed the support of merchants and other people who could not flourish under the feudal system. Strong stable governments helped them to strengthen their position inside the country and against their rivals outside.

However, in course of time, the despotic rulers began to face opposition inside their countries. The people, including those sections of society which had earlier supported strong monarchs, began to protest against unjust laws and against the powers of the monarch. They began to demand curtailment of the absolute powers of the rulers and a share for themselves in the state power. The conflict between the rulers and the people came to a head first in England.

The English Revolution

England's revolution began in the 17th century with a conflict between the king and Parliament over the question of political power. The civil war that followed ended in the execution of the king and the establishment of a republican form of government. Later, the monarchy was restored, but with Parliament as supreme political power in the country.

Origin of English Parliament– The origin of the English Parliament can be traced back to a council which King Henry I created in the 11th century. It consisted of the chief nobles and church dignitaries. By the 13th century, this council had come to be called Parliament.

The next important parliamentary development came in 1215, when King John accepted the demands of the barons of England embodied in a charter called the *Magna Carta*. This charter tried to safeguard the interests of barons from the encroachments of royal authority and protect merchants from arbitrary taxation. For centuries afterwards, this charter was forgotten, to be rediscovered by the supporters of Parliament in the 17th century.

In the 13th century, during the reign of Henry III, there was a civil war in England on the question of taxes. The leader of the rebels, Simon de Montfort, summoned Parliament after the king had been defeated, The membership of this Parliament included knights and representatives of towns, who were mainly merchants.

The institution created by de Montfort continued. It was not a popularly elected body. Its most important power lay in its

control over the revenue and expenditure of the government. For some time, it remained an agency of the kings through which they levied and collected taxes. With the increase in the representation of merchants and other non-feudal calsses, it tried to defend their interests. When the Tudor kings established their despotic rule, they maintained a semblance of showing deference to the authority of Parliament. The Tudor rule was supported by the merchants, and Parliament functioned more or less as a rubber stamp of the kings. The same Parliament, however, revolted against the later absolute rule of the Stuart kings.

Conflict between Parliament and Monarchy

By the time of the Stuarts, a great expansion of the new gentry had taken place. This new class consisted of rich land-owners, wealthy merchants, lawyers and high government officials. The Reformation had made this class rich because they had bought church lands confiscated and sold by the Tudor kings. The people of this class were represented in Parliament, and their interests came into conflict with the Stuart kings. The Stuarts were the upholders of the theory of the 'Divine Right' of kings. When Parliament refused to grant money, the Stuart kings levied tariff duties, sold the titles of nobility and imposed taxes and extorted loans from wealthy merchants without asking Parliament. The Stuart King Charles I persisted in these illegal methods. Thus, his conflict with Parliament grew.

Many developments in the spheres of ideas and religion helped in undermining the position of the English monarchy and provided momentum to Parliament's struggle against the king. Traditional views in the fields of theology and political philosophy had been challenged since the time of the Renaissance and Reformation. Following the theories of scientists, such as Copernicus, Galileo and Newton, about the nature of the physical world, teachings of the Bible were questioned. Some people came to believe that the world was a machine governed by the laws of nature which could be understood and made use of by man. The existing theories of religion could not help man in understanding this world and should be replaced by science, they said. Ideas of religious liberty, political equality, and individual freedom spread. Some people advocated a democratic form of government based on the popular will. Monarchy as an institution was condemned by a few only, though most people believed that Parliament was above the king and could remove him.

The religious conflict helped in unifying the people against the king. There was a demand for reform of the Church of England which had been established by Elizabeth I. This movement was led by the Puritans whose creed was becoming popular, particularly with the new gentry. The Puritans had a large majority in Parliament. They asked for the abolition of certain Church ceremonies and wanted only educated persons to be made ministers of the Church. King Charles I. who was a follower of the Church of England, was very unpopular with the Puritans, who feared the revival of the Catholic Church. However, the religious conflict in itself was not wholly responsible for the civil war that was soon to come. It coincided with the conflicts between the middle class, or new gentry, and the monarchy. An increasing share in the

government was the principal aim of the new gentry.

Civil War

In 1640, Charles I was involved in a war with Scotland and was forced to call Parliament for money. But Parliament forced him to abolish a tax called ship money and to sign a bill agreeing not to dissolve Parliament without its own consent. Finding his position threatened, the King decided to deal with Parliament severely. He came in person to Parliament to arrest five of its members. However,"the birds were flown"; they had left and found refuge in the city. Failing to arrest them and seeing the defiant mood of the city, the King left with his followers for the north of England to mobilize support against Parliament.

The war started in August 1642. The supporters of the king belonged to the nobility and the Anglican clergy or Roman Catholics. They were called *cavaliers*. The supporters of Parliament belonged to the new gentry and were Puritans. They were called *roundheads* because they cropped their hair close, unlike the style of long curled hair worn by the cavaliers.

Fighting continued for five years. In the end Parliament came out victorious. Charles I was captured and publicly executed in 1649. Parliament established a republic.

The Glorious Revolution of 1688

The republic lasted only eleven years. Cromwell, who had palyed the most important role in defeating the King,became the 'Lord Protector'. He was a military dictator and had absolute command of a powerful army. After his death, the monarchy was restored and the son of the executed king, Charles II, was made king. He and his successor, James II, tried to assert the superiority of the monarchy. But feelings against this kind of rule had grown too strong. In 1688, a group of poiliticians invited William of Orange, the husband of James II's daughter, Mary, and ruler of Holland, to become king. Without firing a shot, William reached London and James II fled to France. The throne was granted to William and Mary jointly. This event is known as the *Glorious Revolution.*

Supremacy of Parliamentary Power

The Glorious Revolution, which was a bloodless revolution, completely destroyed the doctrine of the 'Divine Right' of kings in England. Parliament enacted a Bill of Right in 1689 which provided that suspension of laws, levying of taxes, and raising of an army could be done only with the consent of Parliament, which would meet more frequently. It provided for trial by jury, the right to petition, and freedom from excessive bails, fines and punishments of persons accused or convicted of crimes.

The Glorious Revolution marked the triumph of Parliament over the monarchy. William and Mary had received the crown from Parliament and were dependent upon Parliament for keeping it. No longer were the English kings to have independent authority of their own. Through the Act of Settlement (1701) Parliament chose the successors of William and Mary, thus affirming the principle that the monarchy was dependent upon Parliament.

The supremacy of Parliament, however, did not mean the supremacy of the people. Parliament was controlled by the new

gentry. During this period in England as in other countries, the word 'people' was used to mean upper classes. Limitations of the authority of the ruler were intended to promote the interests of the upper classes. The movement for democracy and sovereignty of the people started later. You will read about these in a later chapter.

The period from about 1500 to about 1700 was one of tremendous changes in the history of Europe. The feudal system in many countries of Europe either disintegrated or was in a state of decay. In its place, a new social system began to take shape. The attitude of mind which was born with Renaissance enabled the people to think for themselves and to speak and act in ways they had never done before. They expressed the new attitude through art, literature, revolt against the church and adventurous sea voyages. At the same time, foundations of modern science were laid. The discovery of new lands led to colonization and increased trade which enabled the merchants to accumulate fabulous amounts of gold and silver. Business methods and procedures began to change so as to promote money-making. The nation-states with despotic rulers helped this process for a time. In the 17th century, the new social groups or classes began to struggle against autocratic rulers and they succeeded in destroying the autocratic rule in England.

All these developments may be said to constitute the beginning of the modern age in European history.

EXERCISES

Things to know

1. What is the significance of the growth in trade and rise of towns in the period of renaissance?
2. For what achievements or reasons is each of the following people famous ? Petrarch, Michelangelo, Raphael, Thomas More, Machiavelli, Leonardo da Vinci, Gutenberg, Martin Luther, Wycliffe, Galileo, Copernicus, Dante, John Huss, Francis Bacon, Henry VIII, Harvey, Vaselius, Joan of Arc, Cervantes.
3. What practices of the Roman Catholic Church and churchmen of the 15th and 16th centuries did the reformers object to ?
4. Explain the meaning of the following terms : Protestant Reformation, Counter Reformation, humanism, heretic, nation-state, 'gold, glory and god', absolutism, despotism.
5. What were the main ideas behind the English Revolution ?

Things to do

1. Sketch and label with dates, on an outline map of the world, the approximate routes of Columbus, Vasco da Gama, and Magellan.
2. Collect, label and exhibit pictures that illustrate the Renaissance art.
3. Compare the map of Europe when the first nation-states developed with a map of Europe today. Make a list of the nations that have been formed there since A.D. 1600.

Things to think about and discuss

1. Would you say the 'scientific method' was entirely 'discovered' by the Renaissance scientists or perhaps 'rediscovered and advanced' ? Before giving your answer and reasons, review the developments in science as given in Chapters 3 and 5.
2. Do you consider the development of nation-states 'a step forward' in man's progress ? Why, or why not ?
3. What is your understanding of the term 'humanism' ?
   Give examples of the influence of humanism in the Renaissance art and literature.
4. Discuss the connection between the voyages of discovery and trade. What were the immediate consequences of the work of explorers on the people of the Americas and Africa ?
5. In what way do the developments described in this chapter mark the beginning of the modern age ? Discuss.

CHAPTER 7

Capitalism and the Industrial Revolution

TOWARDS the end of the Middle Ages, feudalism as an economic system had started declining. This process was furthered by the Renaissance and other development about which you have read in the last chapter. The rise of towns and cities and the growth in trade stimulated the production of manufactured goods. There was an increase in the demand for goods which previously had been considered luxury goods. Life in the new towns and cities had created a desire for many new goods also. All these factors provided a great stimulus to the production of manufactured goods. For a long time, however, the techniques and organization of producing goods did not undergo any significant improvement. The traditional methods were inadequate to meet the growing demand for goods. During the later half of the 18th century there began a series of changes which revolutionized the techniques and organization of production. These developments resulted in the rise of a new type of economy— an industrial economy.

The term 'Industrial Revolution' is used to describe these developments because the changes came rapidly and they had far-reaching effects on the history of the world.

Rise of Capitalism

The new system of society which had been emerging in Europe from the 15th century is called capitalism. Under capitalism, the instruments and the means by which goods are produced are owned by private individuals and the production is carried out for making profit. The workers under this system do not own anything but work for a wage. The owners of wealth under capitalism who are called capitalists do not keep their wealth or consume it or use it for purposes of display but invest it to make profit. Goods are produced for sale in the market with a view to making profit. This system is in marked contrast with the feudal system in which goods were produced for local use and the investment of wealth for making profit did not take place. Economic life under

feudalism was static as goods were produced for local consumption and there was no incentive to produce more by employing better means of producing goods for a bigger market. In contrast, the economy under capitalism was fast moving with the aim of producing more and more goods for bigger markets so that more profits could be made.

Capitalism began to grow as a result of the developments described in Chapter 6. The discovery of new lands and the establishment of colonies had resulted in unprecedented expansion of trade and accumulation of wealth by merchants. The trade included also the trade in human beings, that is, slave trade. The colonization was accompanied by the plunder of the wealth of the people who were colonized. For example, the treasures of the Inca and the Aztec civilizations were plundered by the Spaniards. Mines in the newly conquered areas in the Americas were also exploited for precious metals like gold and silver. Large numbers of native people were worked to death in these mines. You have also read about the use of slave labour in the plantations in the Americas. Colonization of Asia caused similar havoc and devastation. During a few decades of Dutch rule, the population of a province of Java in Indonesia was reduced to less than one-fourth of its former size. The defeat of the Nawab of Bengal by the English in 1757 was followed by years of naked plunder of the wealth of Bengal. According to estimates of the English government at that time, the English Company and its officials received £ 6,000,000 as gifts during the period of 1757-1766. The plunder by the English contributed to a famine in 1769-70 in which about a quarter of the population of Bengal perished. Thus, a lot of wealth was accumulated in Europe for investment to make more profits. In the words of Karl Marx, "The treasures captured outside Europe by undisguised looting, enslavement, and murder, floated back to the mother country and were there turned into capital."

The Industrial Revolution

The desire to produce more goods at low cost to make higher profits led to the Industrial Revolution and further growth of capitalism. The Industrial Revolution began in England in about 1750. It was then that machines began to take over some of the work of men and animals in the production of goods and commodities. That is why we often say that the Industrial Revolution was the beginning of a 'machine age'.

Of course, there were many machines in use before 1750. The plough, air-pump, printing press and spinning wheel are only a few of the many examples that could be listed. For hundreds of years each civilization had been trying to perfect old technical skills and develop new ones. But after 1750, new inventions came faster, and they were of a kind that brought more rapid changes in more people's lives. The Industrial Revolution changed men's ways of living and thinking all over the world.

You have read before that the guild system had given way to the 'domestic' or the 'putting-out' system. In the 18th century, the domestic system had become obsolete. It started giving way to a new system called the 'factory system'. In place of simple tools and the use of animal and manual power, new machines and steam power came to be increasingly used. Many new cities sprang up and artisans and dispossessed peasants went there to work. Production was now carried on in a factory

(in place of workshops in homes), with the help of machines (in place of simple tools). Facilities for production were owned and managed by *capitalists*, the people with money to invest in further production. Everything required for production was provided by the capitalists for the workers who were brought together under one roof. Everything belonged to the owner of the factory, including the finished product, and workers worked for wages. This system, known as the factory system, brought on the Industrial Revolution. The early form of capitalism about which you have read before was now transformed into industrial capitalism.

The Revolution Begins in England

England in the 18th century was in the most favourable position for an industrial revolution. Through her overseas trade, including trade in slaves, she had accumulated vast profits which could provide the necessary capital. In the trade rivalries of European countries, she had emerged as an unrivalled power. She had acquired colonies which ensured a regular supply of raw materials. After the disappearance of serfdom, people were no longer tied to the land and were free to take to any job they could find.

The enclosure movement had begun in the 18th century. Big land-owners wanted to consolidate their large land-holdings. In this process, small peasants who had small holdings in land were ousted and a large army of landless unemployed people was created. Thus there was no shortage of labour force to work in the factories. As a result of the revolution of the 17th century, a stable system of government had been established, which was no longer under the domination of the feudal classes. Commercial classes had acquired more political power and there was no danger of government interference.

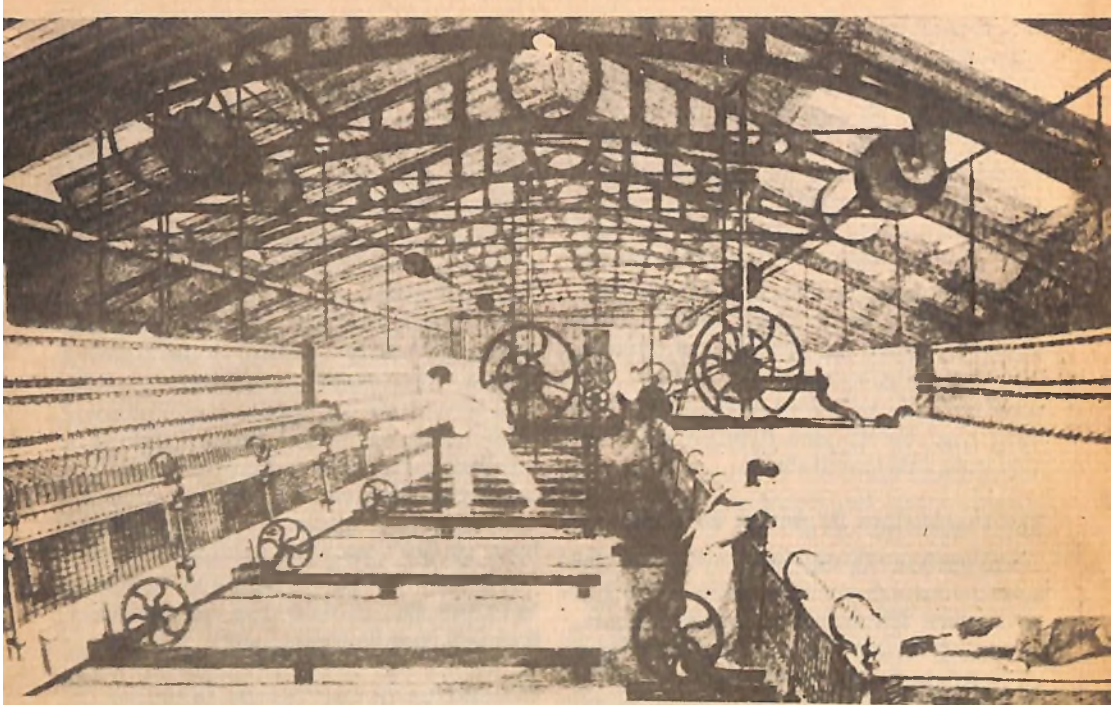
England had plenty of natural resources, such as iron and coal, essential for industries. The sources of iron and coal existed side by side and this saved England from many difficulties that other countries faced. England developed a large shipping industry and had no problem of transportation.

No other country enjoyed all these advantages at this period. Some suffered from a lack of capital or natural resources and some from an unfavourable political system. These factors made England a natural place for the Industrial Revolution to begin. Almost all other European countries had agrarian economies and lived under backward political systems. Many of them, such as Italy and Germany, were not even united and suffered from many economic restrictions.

Revolution in the Textile Industry

In the 1700s the English East India Company was sending cotton cloth from India to England. Soon, calico cloth made in Calicut and Dacca muslin and Kashmiri shawls were in great demand in England. Shrewd English businessmen then began to import cotton and make it into cloth in England. When the workers using old-fashioned spinning-wheels and handlooms could not keep up with the increasing demand, a series of inventions came along to make faster spinning and weaving possible.

Hargreaves invented a machine which speeded up spinning. Arkwright adapted this machine for running with water. Crompton, some time later, combined the advantages of the machines invented by Hargreaves and Arkwright. These three inventions alone made it possible for



7.1 A spinning mill in 19th Century England

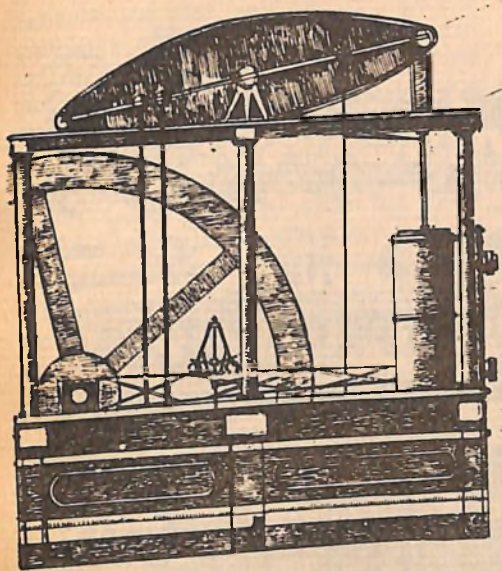
England to produce thread that was finer and cheaper than any that could be produced by others or with older techniques. Then in 1785, Cartwright invented a power loom. This machine could be run by horses or bullocks and later, when factories were set up along rivers and canals, water power was used to operate it.

But enough raw cotton for feeding these machines was still not available because the process of separating the fibres from the seeds was very slow. A worker could clean only five or six pounds of cotton a day by hand. In 1793, Eli Whitney, an American, invented a 'cotton gin.' This machine made it possible to separate the seeds from cotton three hundred times faster than by hand.

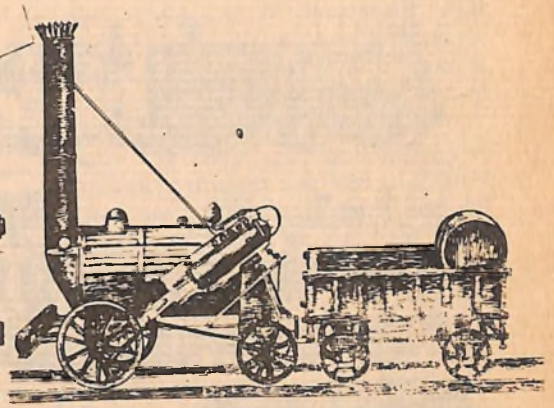
Power from the Steam Engine

In 1760, England imported about two million kilograms of cotton; in 1815, about 50 million kilograms; in 1840 nearly 250 million kilograms. Such a tremendous increase in raw cotton imports would not have taken place but for the invention of the steam engine by James Watt in 1769. It was this machine that made it possible to produce goods on a really big scale. Machines run by the muscles of men or animals, or by water power, could not compete with those driven by the steam engine. This invention revolutionized production.

With steam power available, there was a demand for more machinery. England had plenty of iron and coal to make steel



7.2 Watt's Steam Engine



7.3 Model of Stephenson's 'Rocket'

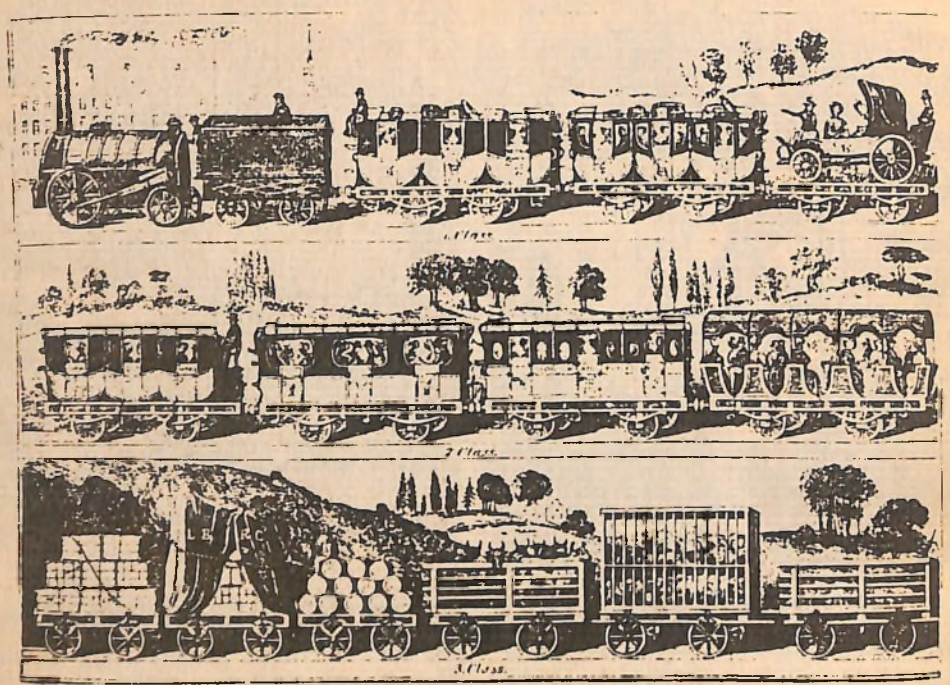
and manufacture machinery, but new and cheaper ways of processing iron had to be found. The development of the blast furnace and, later, the method of turning low-grade iron into steel, enabled the English industries to produce steel cheaply. Thus they could have more and better machines.

Improvement in Transportation

In 1814, George Stephenson developed steam engine to haul coal from mines to ports by railways. In 1830, the first railway train began to carry passengers and freight from Liverpool to Manchester. These events were followed by a great wave of railroad construction in England and the United States. As early as 1853, in Lord Dalhousie's time, the first railroad was laid in India.

The need to transport raw materials and manufactured products led to the improvement of roads and the digging of canals—in England and other countries. Mc Adam devised the method of making *pakka* or 'macadamized' roads. To expand facilities for transport by water much cheaper than overland England began connecting rivers and lakes with canals. Canal building spread to Europe and America and was a big help in providing cheaper transportation, especially after steam boats came into use.

Improved transportation helped in carrying messages as well as people and goods. Rawland Hill's idea of the penny post—fast and cheap communication by letter—began to operate in England in the early 19th century. Soon it was adopted in other countries, including India. People could thus send letters to and from all parts of the country at the same low rate



7.4 An 1837 print of British Railways in early 1830s

regardless of the distance. Business concerns took advantage of the penny-post in their buying and selling transactions far and near.

Revolution in Agriculture

There was a revolution in agriculture also. The revolution in agriculture in fact had started before the Industrial Revolution. Naturally, there were changes in farming methods to produce more food, and more importantly, to produce cash crops for the market and raw materials for industries. New farm machinery included the steel plough and harrow for breaking the ground, the mechanical drill for seeding and the horse-drawn cultivator to replace the hoe. There were also machines for reaping and threshing.

Farmers adopted intensive manuring and the practice of crop rotation to maintain soil fertility. The latter is the practice of changing the crop on a piece of land each year, for example, wheat, barley, clover, and so on– instead of letting the land lie fallow every third year as was done in the Middle Ages. Crop rotation is effective because different crops take different elements from the soil. Moreover, planting a crop like clover can actually be better for the soil than letting it lie fallow, because clover is one of the plants that add fertility to the soil.

Land-owners in England also began to

enlarge their farms. They had already consolidated their holdings through the enclosure movement, as you have read before. The strips of land that lay scattered about the village were so consolidated that they could hold all their land in one piece. In doing so, the big land-owner quite unfairly got possession of the peasant's small holding along with his own. Sometimes big land-holders took over the common meadow in a village also leaving the small land-owners and tenants with no pasture.But the big land-owners controlled Parliament in those days and got laws passed that enabled them to do these things. The result was that the peasants were forced off the land. With no other means of livelihood, they moved to the new industrial towns and cities where they got jobs at whatever wage the factory-owner would pay. Industries thus benefited, but at the small farmer's expense.

Spread of the Industrial Revolution

In a little more than fifty years after the use of machines began, England had become the world's leading industrial nation. Between 1813 and 1855, for example, her textile exports to India jumped from 50,000 kilograms to well over 2.5 million. During the same period, the amount of coal mined rose from 15 to 64 million tonnes and became an important export. Meanwhile, England's production of pig iron increased from 690,000 tonnes to over 3 million—enough to supply all the machinery and hardware she needed at home, besides sending vast quantities to other countries.

The Industrial Revolution in Other Countries

In the continent of Europe, the Industrial Revolution began to make some headway after 1815, after the defeat of Napoleon and the end of 23 years of war. Then machines were introduced in France, Belgium, Switzerland and Germany. However, unstable governments and unrest among the people in some of these countries slowed the growth of industries for some time.

France, by 1850, was developing the iron industry though she had to import both iron ore and coal. Germany had, by 1865, occupied second place as a producer of steel, but with England far ahead in the lead. After a late start, Germany's industrial development took an amazing leap after 1870 when the German states were finally welded into one nation. Soon Germany was to become England's rival.

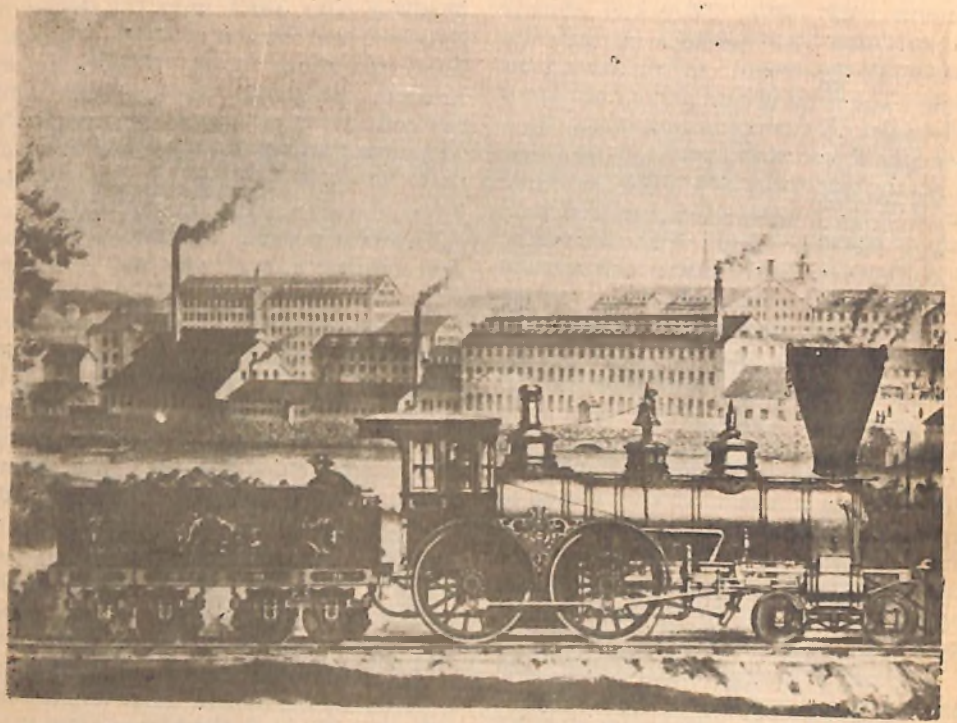
Russia was the last of the big European powers to have an industrial revolution. She was rich in mineral resources but lacked capital and free labour. After she freed the serfs in 1861, she obtained capital from foreign countries and Russian industry moved ahead. However, it was only after Russia's 1917 Revolution that rapid industrial development started.

The United States had introduced machines and started factories before 1800—after gaining independence from England. By 1860 she had well established textile, steel, and shoe industries. The American industries grew very rapidly after 1870.

Japan was the first country in Asia to industrialize. Traditionally, Japan produced mainly such articles as silk, porcelain and toys. By the end of the 19th century, Japanese production included steel, machinery, metal goods and chemicals—and in quantities large enough for export.

Competition in Trade and Rise of Imperialism

As England was the first country where



7.5 Landscape of an industrial area in 19th century Europe

industries developed, she gained almost complete control over world markets. Even when people in other countries began to use machines they found they could not compete with England's low prices. To help keep these low priced products from coming into their markets many countries introduced *protective tariffs*, that is, governments passed laws that required the payment of such a high tax on imported British manufactures that similar products made locally sold more as they were cheaper. The levy of tariffs to protect new industries became a widespread practice.

The search for markets and sources of raw materials resulted in international rivalries. First England and, later, other Western countries began to look for new sources of raw materials and markets for their manufactures. Towards the end of the 19th century Japan was industrialized and joined the race. In this race, almost the entire non-industrialized world was carved up into colonies—spheres of influence or territories—for economic and political domination by industrialized countries. Thus arose imperialism, under which strong nations subordinated the economies of the countries under their domination to their own interests. They forced them to buy and sell on their own terms. The race for colonies caused many an international conflict. The countries which had been industrialized late and

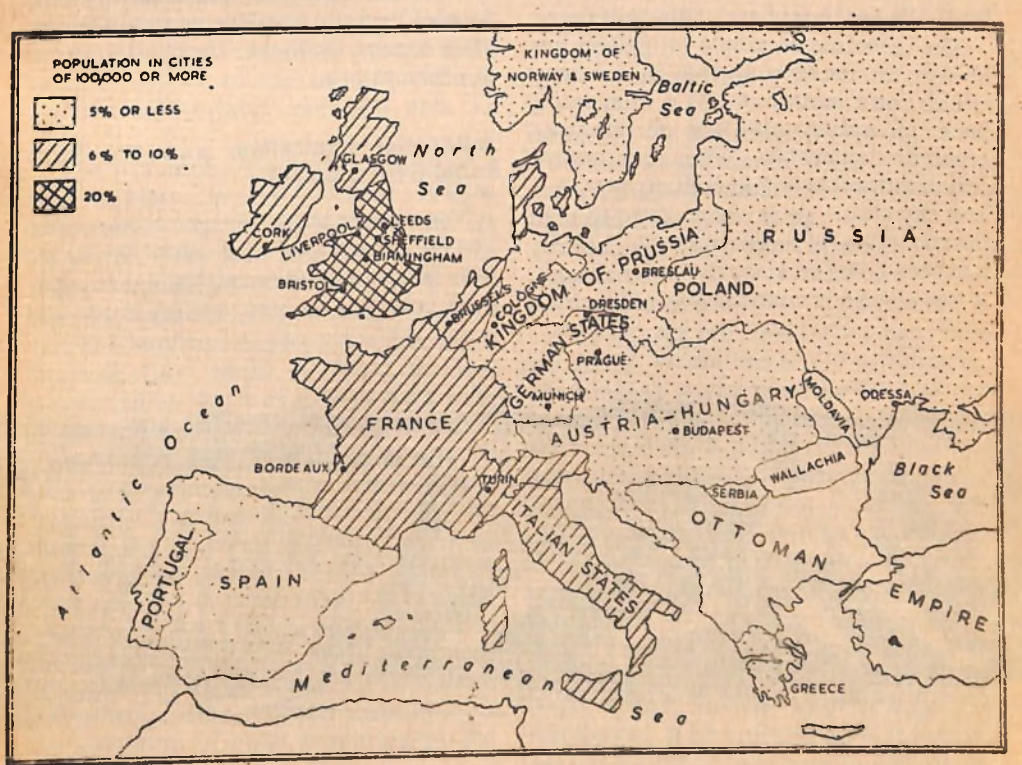
had no colonies, wanted to wrest them from those that had. Countries which had colonies wanted still more.

CONSEQUENCES OF INDUSTRIALIZATION

From Village to City

Before the Industrial Revolution, most of the population of the world lived in villages and was dependent on agriculture. Almost all economic needs of man were met within the village itself. Almost the entire population was, in one way or the other, connected with land. The towns and cities that had arisen since the beginning of civilization were, as you have seen, centres of crafts and of political and administrative control. Trade was carried on between towns and cities of the same country and of other countries and affected only a very small percentage of the population.

With the growth of industrialization the picture was completely transformed. The centre of economic life shifted to the cities. The new cities and towns that grew were important more as centres of industry than as political and administrative



Population in large cities of Europe in 1850. Only cities with a population of 100,000 or more which grew between 1800 and 1850 are shown.

centres. A large part of the population now started living in cities where thousands of people worked in industrial establishments. This population was not connected with land. Now in some industrialized countries, less than 20 per cent of the population is connected with land. In our country, though still an overwhelming majority lives in villages, there is a gradual increase in the population dependent on industry. In highly industrialized countries, the share of industrial production in the total national income is far larger than that of agriculture. Urban and rural economies have become mutually dependent and complementary.

The crowding of people into cities has always produced problems of housing, health, and sanitation. The quickening pace of industrialization in England created deplorable living conditions, concentration in smoky industrial towns, and city slums grew worse. Even though the movement of people from village to city has been going on since civilization began, it has always aroused sadness. Life for a villager in the city resulted in many social strains. Many social bonds were dissolved. Many moral restraints which life in a village community imposed broke down. On the other hand, men became freer to develop their capabilities.

The Industrial Revolution brought countries and peoples together. The relations between countries and peoples, however, were not based on equality as the industrially developed countries began to control the economy of countries which were not industrially developed. In spite of this, the Industrial Revolution created an international consciousness among peoples because the developments in one place began to influence the developments in other places.

Industrial Capitalism and the First Industrial Workers

The system of society which came into being as a result of the Industrial Revolution may be termed industrial capitalism. The main classes in this society were the

7.6 Children were employed to pull carts loaded with coal through the dark tunnels in coal mines.

capitalists—the owners of the means of production—and workers who worked for a wage. It resulted in the concentration of economic power in a few hands. The independent craftsman became rare. A small number of capitalists came to control the lives of not only a large number of workers whom they employed but also, directly or indirectly, the economic life of the entire society. The concentration of economic power in a few hands resulted in shocking social inequalities and created a wide gulf between capitalists and the rest of the population. These inequalities were so obvious and so great that Disraeli, a British Prime Minister of the 19th century, spoke of the existence of two nations in England—the rich and the poor.

The Industrial Revolution produced a vast number of landless, toolless workers, who were wholly dependent on an employer. They had to accept whatever wage the employer offered, for there were usually more workers than jobs. Women and children were employed even in mines because they could be hired for less money. Often they had to work from 15 to 18 hours a day with no rest periods. If perchance they fell asleep on duty, they might be beaten by a heartless overseer. Working surroundings were unsafe and dirty. The horrible condition of child labourers is stated in the evidence collected by a committee of British Parliament in 1816. The following information was collected from a one-time master of apprentices in a cotton mill. He was asked questions by the committee on the condition of child labourers in his factory.

'At what age were they taken ?'.

—'Those that came from London were from about eight or ten to fifteen.'

'Up to what period were they apprenticed ?'

—'One-and-twenty'.

What were the hours of work ?'

—'From five o'clock in the morning till eight at night'.

'Were fifteen hours in the day the regular hours of work ?'

—'Yes'.

'When the works were stopped for the repair of the mill, or for any want of cotton, did the children afterwards make up for the loss of that time ?'

—'Yes'.

'Did the children sit or stand to work?'

—'Stand'.

The whole of their time ?

—'Yes'.

'Were there any seats in the mill' ?

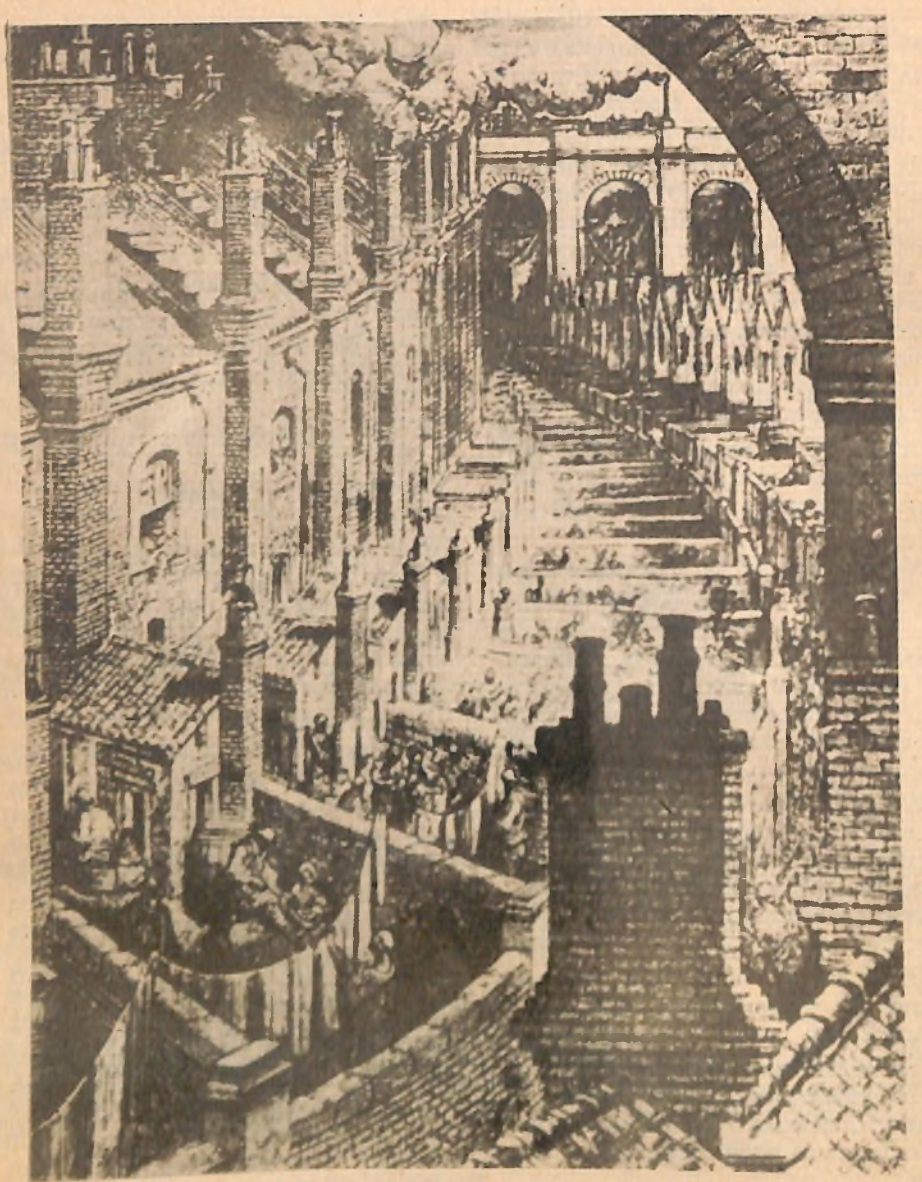
—'None. I have found them frequently upon the mill-floors, after the time they should have been in bed'.

'Were any children injured by the machinery ?

—'Very frequently'.

The houses provided for workers were no better. Whole areas of the industrial cities where workers lived were crowded slums. Accidents, disease and epidemics were common. A report on the slums of Manchester in 1837 mentions, among other things, that almost all inhabitants of many streets perished in cholera.

If an employer was displeased with a worker for any reason, he could dismiss the worker at will. A worker had little choice but to accept an employer's terms, or be jobless. If he was ill and unable to work, he got no pay, and he might be discharged. If he suffered an accident on the job, he got no help from the employer. When business was slack, a factory-owner regularly dismissed as many employees as possible leaving them with no means of



7.7 A mid-19th century engraving of the London slums by Dore

livelihood. It was the industrial workers in England who first endured conditions such as those just described but workers in other countries fared no better.

Efforts to Improve Working Conditions in Industry

A few humanitarian reformers and some land-owners who were jealous of big businessmen combined with English workers to get the first laws to improve conditions of work. England passed its first Factory Act in 1802 limiting the hours of work for children to twelve a day. In 1819, law forbade the employment of children under nine. Later laws regulated the employment of women and children in mines.

Many of the laws to protect workers have been due to the pressure from workers' trade unions. When the English workers first formed trade unions, employers called them 'unlawful combinations' and laws were passed to curb such 'evils'. But by 1824 the workers succeeded in getting laws against unions repealed and there was a remarkable growth in unions for all the trades.

It may be hard to believe today, but it is true, that the English industrial workers did not have the right to vote in those days. In the beginning in fact, the population of new industrial cities had no representation in Parliament at all. In the thirties and forties of the 19th century, a movement known as the 'Chartist Movement', was launched to get the right of vote for workers. Though the movement declined by the 'fifties of the 19th century, it left its influence and through the Acts of 1867, 1882, 1918 and 1929 all adult citizens were enfranchised. The English workers also won the right not only to organize trade unions but also the right to strike to force employers to concede their demands.

The idea that the workers' case must be heard in any dispute met with opposition everywhere. Workers in France and

7.8
Police trying to stop a workers' demonstration in London in 1886. Police and soldiers were used to put down workers' strikes and movements.

Germany got the right to form labour unions in the late 19th century. In the United States, where unions were frowned upon for almost a century, workers did not gain full legal rights until the early 20th century. Then the right to form unions, to strike, and to bargain with employers on the conditions of work was legalized and this was followed by other laws that brought more benefits to employees.

The many benefits that workers and all salaried people enjoy in most industrialized countries today are due directly or indirectly to the efforts to correct the terrible conditions that the Industrial Revolution brought about.

Government Responsibility and Industrialization

Protection for industrial workers could not have taken place without a change in

the ideas of the responsibilities of governments. When the Industrial Revolution was gaining strength in England—and the same was generally true in other countries—the growing belief was that governments should not interfere with business and industry. The theory known as *laissez faire* or 'let us alone', was then a kind of religion among capitalists. According to the *laissez faire* idea, the businessman should be free to look after his own interests. Only the unwritten law of supply and demand should determine the size of his profits. The same unwritten law would determine the fate of the worker, whether he had a job, what would be his working conditions and salary. The famous economist Adam Smith voiced this idea in 1776 in a book called *The Wealth of Nations*, and it had many supporters, too.

The *laissez faire* doctrine was opposed by many people. Gradually, almost all the countries came to accept the idea that the state has a legitimate right and duty to regulate the economy. The Factory Acts in England and many laws dealing with the economy in all countries were a consequence of this. Today one rarely hears a voice in defence of *laissez faire*. Gradually, the state's role in economic development has also come to be recognized. This is true particularly of the developing countries that cannot modernize their economies without a comprehensive and large-scale effort on the part of the state. In fact, in these countries, it is the state, rather than the private capitalist, that is the main agency for economic development.

The Rise of Socialism

The greatest challenge to *laissez faire*, and to capitalism itself, has come from the idea of socialism, which grew in the beginning as a reaction against the evils of capitalism. The idea appealed particularly to workers. Through their struggles, they were able to achieve much improvement in their living conditions. However, they came to believe that, for basic improvement in their life, socialism or a complete re-ordering of society was essential. You will read about ideas of socialism and movements based on those ideas later.

The Industrial Revolution that began in England in about 1750 was a revolution in man's ways of producing goods and services. Abolition of medieval, antiquated social, economic and political systems, and industrialization to lead to an era of shared plenty became the declared aims of one society after another who emerged as nations.

Ever since 1750, man has increasingly used machines and mechanical power to do the work that he formerly did with his own muscles and the help of animals. Meantime, the machines invented by man have become more and more complex and provided him with goods and services that could not otherwise be produced at all. Also, machines have increased the amount of goods man can turn out in a given time, and enabled people to raise their level of living.

Industrialization and capitalism brought benefits as well as hardships and evils to man—unemployment, smoky, crowded cities, unhealthy living and working conditions, rivalry and conflict between nations. As working men got the right to vote and elect their representatives in government, they forced the passage of laws that eliminated many of the early evils that industrialization had brought about. Ideas of socialism also arose which,

while recognizing the importance of machines and making them even better, aimed at solving the problems created by capitalism, by building a new social order. But many problems remain. The unsolved problems are a challenge to all nations.

EXERCISES

Things to know

1. Explain the meaning of the following terms :
   Industrial Revolution, capital, capitalism, socialism, protective tariff, *laissez faire*.
2. What conditions are most favourable or essential for industrialization ?
3. Give examples to show that the Industrial Revolution with its demand for raw materials and markets made nations more dependent on one another.
4. Describe the conditions which prevailed in industrial cities and factories as the Industrial Revolution spread. How were these conditions slowly improved ?

Things to do

1. Make a Time Line showing the most important inventions from 1750 to 1870.
2. Make a bulletin board display of pictures of machines that revolutionized manufacturing, farming, transportation and communication during the first hundred years after the Industrial Revolution began.
3. Write a paper of 250-400 words on the subject: 'The Industrial Revolution was a Mixed Blessing'.

Things to think about and discuss

1. What are the main features which distinguish capitalism from feudalism ?
2. How did the growth of trade unions help to put on end to the idea of *laissez faire* ?
3. Why does industrialization affect farming, transportation, communication, trade and how does it result in the need for more education ?
4. How does industrialization help in raising the level or the standard of living ?
5. Study the weaknesses and disadvantages of producing goods and services under the capitalist system of production. What are the advantages that a socialist system can have over a society based on capitalism ?
6. Would you say that industrialization was 'a natural step' in man's progress ? Why or why not ?

CHAPTER 8

Revolutionary and Nationalist Movements

IN CHAPTERS 6 and 7 you learned about the rise of a new economic system in the world. In this chapter you will read of the developments that transformed the political systems of many countries of Europe and of the Americas in the 18th and 19th centuries. The basic features of these developments were the growth of democratic political systems, nationalism and socialism. Together with the Industrial Revolution, they brought about great changes and helped to determine people's thought and conditions of life for a long time to come. These developments began first in certain parts of Europe. Since then, particularly from the 19th century, the establishment of democratic political systems and of independent states based on nationalism have been among the primary aims of peoples the world over. Simultaneously with these in some countries and later in other countries ideas of socialism have inspired movements of social equality.

You have read about the social and economic system called feudalism. Under feudalism, societies were divided into classes some of which were privileged while the others were exploited. A man's entire life was determined at the time of his birth, depending on the class into which he was born. You have read that the two main classes in the feudal society were feudal lords and serfs. The political systems of the time were also determined by the prevailing social and economic system. Most of the population was excluded from having any share in the governance of the country. Many kings claimed divine rights, that is, that their power was derived from God and not from any capability to rule. Their word was law. A French king declared, "I am the State".

The boundaries of states also were irrational. If you see old maps you will be able to recognize very few states of modern Europe. There were all kinds of states—empires, feudal estates, city-states. The territories within a state were not necessarily contiguous. The people inhabiting these states were not

homogeneous. Empires, for example, included territories far apart from each other and inhabited by people of different nationalities. Similarly, the territories inhabited by a homogeneous people were divided into a number of states, some under a local ruler, some under the Church and some as parts of an empire. You have read in Chapter 6 how as a result of many factors nation-states had begun to be formed. However, this process was limited to a few areas. Most of the European states for a long time to come had no rational basis.

You have read of the rise of new social groups and classes during the later Middle Ages and about the role played by the middle class in bringing about the Renaissance in Europe. In economic life, this class gradually became very important. However, it was obstructed in its growth by the outdated political systems based on privilege. It could grow only if it also held the political power. With the Industrial Revolution, the strength of this class increased further and the removal of the outdated political systems acquired urgency. The spread of the Industrial Revolution in many countries was slow because of the backward political system that prevailed there. Another important new class that arose, particularly after the Industrial Revolution, was the working class, or the industrial workers. This class also was opposed to the autocratic political systems. Serfdom had declined in some countries but in most other countries of Europe, it was still the dominant feature of the social system. There were many revolts of the serfs but they were suppressed. However, during the period from the 17th to the 19th centuries, there arose movements in different parts of Europe to overthrow the existing political systems. The first successful revolution which overthrew the autocratic monarchy took place in England in the 17th century, as you have seen in Chapter 6.

Simultaneously, there was also the rise and growth of national consciousness and movements to unite the different territories inhabited by the people of a nation if they were divided into different states, and to overthrow foreign imperial rule if the territories of a nation were part of a larger empire ruled by an alien emperor.

The Renaissance had inaugurated an era of questioning the established beliefs. Gradually, this questioning covered every aspect of thought and belief. The period after the 16th century witnessed an intellectual revolution when all the existing beliefs based on faith came under heavy attack. Great progress was made in various sciences, which also undermined the existing beliefs. The new ideas were characterized by rationalism and were increasingly concerned with secular affairs. Because of the growing emphasis on reason, the period of the 18th century in European history is called the *Age of Reason* or the *Age of Enlightenment*. Gradually the beliefs that permitted people to be divided into higher or lower groups on the basis of birth, and into privileged groups and others, and the hold of the Church in the sphere of ideas, were undermined. The new ideas were ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity. Thus arose ideas of freedom, democracy and equality, which became the rallying slogans of peoples everywhere. Simultaneously, there also arose ideas of nationalism which brought a sense of unity and oneness to the people forming a nation and the desire to organize themselves into

independent states with their distinctive national identities.

Movements arose in many parts of Europe and in North America to overthrow the existing autocratic political systems and replace them by democratic political system and to abolish privileges and establish the equality of political rights. These movements which began earlier became powerful forces in the 19th century Europe. In this chapter you will read about some revolutions that led to the overthrow of autocratic governments and their replacement by democratic forms of government. You will also read about some successful movements of national independence and national unification. In the last section, you will read about the emergence of ideas of socialism and about the movements based on those ideas which took shape.

Changes in political and social systems have often been brought about by revolutions. A *revolution*, as you know from your study of the Industrial Revolution, means a drastic or radical change. A revolution can be the sudden overthrow of an established government or system by force and bloodshed; it can also be a great change that comes slowly and peacefully. The developments described in this chapter were, in some respects, rapid and accompanied by violence but many of the lasting changes they brought about have taken place gradually and without bloodshed. However, you should remember that every change of government is not a revolution. A revolution involves a fundamental change in the entire political system of a country, a change in the nature of government, in the class or classes that hold political power, and also in the aims of the government.

People do not usually revolt against a government or a certain system unless they believe that it is no longer possible to live in the old way. Revolutions occur when an existing system becomes unbearable to a vast majority of the people. This, in itself, makes conditions 'ripe' for setting up a new system.

Revolutions are 'contagious'. Revolutionary ideas originating in one place may spread to other places very fast and influence the thinking and actions of peoples suffering under oppressive governments in other lands. Revolutions have played an essential role in the development of human societies. Without them, one kind of system, however unsuitable for the times it might be, would continue for ever, and there would be no progress.

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

While some Englishmen were battling at home for improvements in Parliament and reforms in religion, others were adventuring across the Atlantic to establish colonies and trade in the Americas. In a previous chapter you have read about the discovery and exploration of the Americas. In the 16th century, European countries began to make settlements there. In North America, colonies were established by France, Holland and Spain as well as by England. In the 18th century, England drove France out of the eastern part of the continent and Canada. She had earlier taken New Netherlands from the Dutch, changing its name to New York.

The English Colonies in America

By the middle of the 18th century there were 13 English colonies in North America

along the Atlantic Coast. Landless peasants, people seeking religious freedom, traders, and profiteers had settled there. The bulk of the population consisted of independent farmers. Infant industries had developed in such products as wool, flax, and leather. In the north there were fishing and ship-building. In the south, large plantations like feudal manors had grown up where tobacco and cotton were grown with slave labour brought from Africa.

Each colony had a local assembly elected by qualified voters. These assemblies enacted laws concerning local matters, and levied taxes. However, they were under the rule of the mother country. By the 18th century, the colonists found the laws which the English government imposed upon them more and more objectionable. The idea of being an independent nation grew and developed into the Revolutionary War in which the colonists gained their independence.

Causes of the War of American Independence

The colonial policy of England in economic matters was the primary cause of resentment in the American colonies. England's policies did not encourage the American colonies to develop an economy of their own. The English Parliament had forbidden them to use non-British ships in their trade. Certain products, such as tobacco, cotton and sugar, could be exported only to England. Heavy duties were imposed on the import of goods in the colonies from other places. The colonies were also forbidden to start certain industries, for example, iron works and textiles. They were forced to import these goods from England. Thus, in every possible way, the growth of industry and trade in the colonies was impeded.

The English also angered the colonists by issuing a proclamation to prevent them from moving west into new lands. English aristocrats had bought lands in America and got rents from the farmers. They wanted to keep the colonists as renters.

As a result of continuous wars in Europe, the English government was burdened with debt. It needed money. In 1765, the English Parliament passed the Stamp Act which imposed stamp taxes on

8.1 Thomas Paine—an international revolutionary who published a constant stream of articles and pamphlets (including *Common Sense* and *Rights of Man* and urged people in England, America and France to fight for their liberty.

all business transactions in the American colonies. Revenue stamps up to 20 shillings were to be affixed to legal documents and other papers. This Act aroused violent resentment among all sections of the colonists and led them to boycott English goods. There were uprisings in many towns and tax-collectors were killed. The colonists claimed that, since English Parliament had no representatives from the colonies, it had no right to levy taxes on them. The revenue from these taxes, they said, was used not in the interests of the colonies but of English.

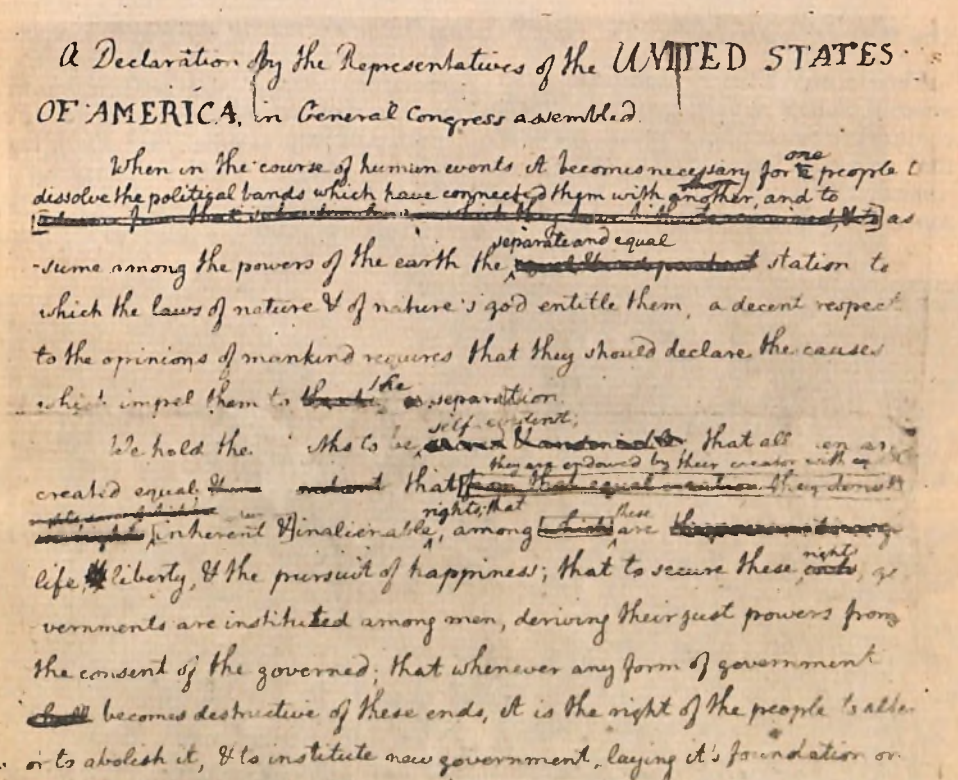
The American revolutionaries were inspired by the ideas of the English philosophers of the 17th century. These philosophers—Locke, Harrington, Milton—believed that men had certain fundamental rights which no government had the right to infringe. American thinkers, especially Thomas Jefferson, were also inspired by what French

8.2 Riots over the Stamp Act. Demonstrations broke out throughout the English colonies in North America the day the Stamp Act came into effect. The illustration shows burning of stamps in the streets.

philosophers were saying and writing at that time. Jefferson asserted the colonists' right to rebellion, and encouraged their increasing desire for independence. Support for independence was forcefully expressed by Thomas Paine, who detested the inequalities of English society, and had come to America. In a pamphlet entitled *Common Sense*, he wrote, 'It was repugnant to reason to suppose that this continent can long remain subject to any external power...there is something absurd in supposing a Continent to be perpetually governed by an island'.

The Massachusetts Assembly

The leaders in the Massachusetts colony called together representatives from other colonies to consider their common problems. They agreed and declared that the English Parliament had no right to levy taxes on them. 'No taxation without representation' was the slogan they adopted. And they threatened to stop


A Declaration by the Representatives of the UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, in General Congress assembled.

When in the course of human events it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature & of nature's god entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold the truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with certain inherent & inalienable rights, among these are life, liberty, & the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, & to institute new government, laying it's foundation on

8.3 The first few lines of the 'Declaration of Independence' as drafted by Thomas Jefferson. Jefferson's draft was adopted, with a few minor changes, on 4 July 1776.

the import of British goods. The threat led English to repeal the Stamp Act, but Parliament still insisted that it had the right to levy taxes. Then Parliament imposed a tax on consumer goods coming into the colonies, such as paper, glass, tea and paint. Again the colonies objected saying that only their own assemblies had the right to raise money through taxes. In protest the colonies cut down the English imports by one-half. The English withdrew the plan, leaving only the tax on tea to assert their right to levy taxes.

The Boston Tea Party

The tax on tea led to trouble. In 1773, several colonies refused to unload the tea coming in English ships. In Boston, when the governor ordered a ship to be unloaded, a group of citizens, dressed as American Indians, boarded the ship and dumped the crates of tea into the water. This incident is known as 'the Boston Tea Party'. The English government then closed the port of Boston to all trade and precipitated the uprising of the colonies.

The Philadelphia Congress and the Declaration of Independence

The representatives of the 13 American colonies met as a group in what is called the First Continental Congress at Philadelphia in 1774. This congress appealed to the English King to remove restrictions on industries and trade and not to impose any taxes without their consent. The King declared their action a mutiny and ordered troops to be sent to suppress it. The colonies then planned for military defence with local troops or militia. In 1775, the first battle of the revolution was fought when a thousand

8.4 John Trumbull's painting of the signing of the 'Declaration of Independence'. The painting shows standing centre, left to right, John Adams, Roger Sherman, Robert Livingstone, Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Franklin.

English soldiers met the colonial militia in Lexington, Massachusetts.

On 4 July 1776, the Second Continental Congress adopted the Declaration of Independence. It contained truly revolutionary ideas. The Declaration asserted 'that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator

8.5 A.M. Willard's The Spirit of 76, painted a century after the signing of the 'Declaration of Independence

with certain inalienable rights, that among these rights are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness'. The Declaration advanced the principle that the people are the source of authority and affirmed the people's right to set up their own government. The Declaration also stated that the American colonies had been oppressed by the English government and that 'these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states'. Up to this time the colonists had been fighting for their rights as Englishmen. After the Declaration in 1776, they fought for their right to be an independent nation.

The War of Independence

George Washington was put in command of the American forces. The first battles took place in and around Boston. Then English sent a force to Canada with the plan to march it south to meet another English force, and so cut the American colonies in half. But a English general spoiled the plan. As the English marched south, the Americans met and defeated them. This victory of the rough American militia-men against a trained British force gave the Americans confidence. The French government now decided to help the colonies with troops, supplies and funds— to embarrass English. France's old enemy. Other enemies of English— Spain and Holland—were soon fighting the English elsewhere.

Meanwhile, trouble was brewing for Britain at home. There was a threat of rebellion in Ireland; some leaders in

8.6 Surrender of Cornwallis, 1781

Parliament were opposing the war with the colonists. The war ended in 1781 when the English commander, Cornwallis, later to become governor-general in India, surrendered. Two years later, in 1783, the Treaty of Paris was signed and English recognized the independence of its 13 former colonies.

The American Constitution

When the war of independence started, each of the 13 colonies was a separate state with its own army, boundaries, customs duties and finances. But they co-operated against a common enemy. In 1781, as states of the United States, they united through a plan for a national government. A constitutional convention was called in Philadelphia to frame a new constitution, which came into effect in 1789. It established a republican form of government at a time when states in other parts of the world were governed by monarchies. The American Constitution set up a federal system under which powers were divided between a central or federal government and the state governments.

Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence, and his followers campaigned for the addition of a Bill of Rights to the federal constitution. This was done through ten amendments which guaranteed many rights to the American people. The most noted of these are freedom of speech, press and religion, and justice under law.

The constitution marked the emergence of the United States of America as a nation in world history. It was the first written republican constitution ever framed in history, which is still in operation.

Significance of the American Revolution

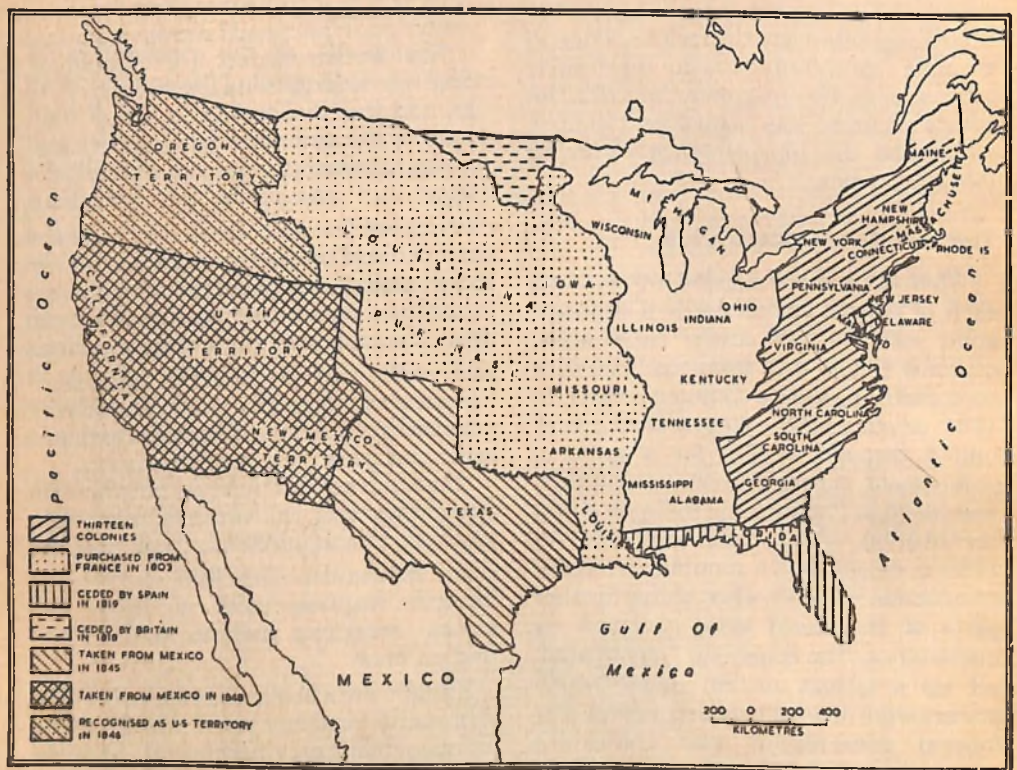
The words of the Declaration of Independence regarding the equality of all men and the 'inalienable rights' of man electrified the atmosphere in America and outside. Lafayette, the French general who fought on the side of American revolutionaries, was soon to become a hero of the French Revolution. Thomas Paine also participated in the French Revolution. By its example, the American Revolution inspired many revolutionaries in Europe later in the 19th century. It encouraged Spanish and Portuguese colonies in Central and South America to rebel and gain their independence.

The main achievement of the American Revolution was the establishment of a republic. This republic was, however, not truly democratic. The right to vote was limited. Negroes—most of them still slaves—American Indians, and women had no vote.

Election laws in all states favoured men of property for many years. But progress towards democracy had begun. In some states, state religion was abolished, along with religious qualifications for holding public offices.

The Growth of a Nation

Early in the 19th century, many new areas were added to the United States. The vast territory in the middle of the continent, known as Louisiana, was purchased from France. Florida was acquired from Spain. By the 1850's, after a war with Mexico, the United States had extended its boundaries to the Pacific Ocean. People had continued to move west. The westward expansion of the United States was at the expense of the



United States of America in about 1850

American Indians who were driven out of their territories and in the course of a few decades their population was reduced to an insignificant number. Increasing settlements in the west brought about increasing conflicts between the southern states that wanted to extend slavery to the western territories and the northern states that objected to a slave economy.

A change of revolutionary significance came with the Civil War when slave-owning states of the south seceded from the Union and set up a separate government. The Civil War raged from 1861 to 1865 and ended in the defeat of the southern states.

It was a victory for the capitalistic industrial states of the north over the slave-owning states of the south. The federal government abolished slavery. The abolition of slavery, however, did not end discrimination against the Black people and their struggle to make equal rights a reality continued.

8.7 The 'Declaration of Independence' stated, "All men are created equal". But slavery continued for about 90 years after the signing of the Declaration. It was finally abolished in December 1865. The picture shows a slave auction in 1853.

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

The French Revolution was brewing while the War of American Independence was being fought. Conditions in France were vastly different from those in the New World, but many of the same revolutionary ideas were at work. The French Revolution, however, was more world-shaking than the American. It became a widespread upheaval over which no one could remain neutral.

Social Conditions in the 18th-century France

To understand how and why the French Revolution occurred, we have to understand French society of that time. We have to realize also that conditions in France were no worse than the conditions that existed in other parts of Europe. Autocratic, extravagant rulers, privileged nobles and clergy, landless peasants, jobless workers, unequal taxation—the list of hardships endured by the common people is a very long one. France was a strong and powerful state in the 18th century. She had seized vast territories in North America, islands in the West Indies. However, despite its outward strength, the French monarchy was facing a crisis which was to lead to its destruction.

Privileged Classes or Estates

French society was divided into classes, or *estates*. There were two privileged

classes—the clergy and the nobility. These were known as the First Estate and the Second Estate respectively. The First Estate consisted of about 130,000 clerics. The nobility or Second Estate numbered about 80,000 families. People in these two classes were exempted from almost all taxes. They controlled most of the administrative posts and all the high-ranking posts in the army. In a population of 25,000,000 people, these two classes together owned about 40 per cent of the total land of France. Their incomes came primarily from their large land-holdings. A minority of these also depended on pensions and gifts from the king. They considered it beneath their dignity to trade or to be engaged in manufacture or to do any work.

The life of the nobility was everywhere characterized by extravagance and luxury. There were, of course, poorer sections in these two top estates. They were discontented and blamed the richer members of their class for their misery.

8.8 A cartoon showing the exploitation of the peasantry by the clergy and the nobility

The Third Estate

The rest of the people of France were called the Third Estate. They were the common people and numbered about 95 per cent of the total population. People of the Third Estate were the unprivileged people. However, there were many differences in their wealth and style of living.

The Peasants—The largest section of the Third Estate consisted of the peasants, almost 80 per cent of the total population of France. The lives of this vast class were wretched. Most of the peasants were free, unlike the serfs in the Middle Ages, and unlike the serfs in eastern Europe in the 18th century. Many owned their own lands. But a great majority of the French peasants were landless or had very small holdings. They could earn hardly enough for subsistence. The plight of the tenants and share-croppers was worse. After rents, the peasant's share was reduced to one-third or one-fourth of what he produced. The people who worked on land for wages lived on even less.

Certain changes in agriculture in the 18th century France further worsened the condition of the peasant. He could no longer take wood from the forests or graze his flocks on uncultivated land. The burden of taxation was intolerable. Besides taxes, there was also 'forced labour' which had been a feudal privilege

of the lord and which was more and more resorted to for public works. There were taxes for local roads and bridges, the church, and other needs of the community. A bad harvest under these conditions inevitably led to starvation and unrest.

The Middle Classes—Not all the people belonging to the Third Estate worked on the land. There were the artisans, workers and poor people living in towns and cities. Then there was the middle class or the *bourgeoisie*. This class consisted of the educated people—writers, doctors, judges, lawyers, teachers, civil servants—and the richer people who were merchants, bankers, and manufacturers. Economically, this class was the most important one. It was the forerunner of the builders of the industries which were to transform economic and social life in the 19th century.

The merchant-business groups, though new in history, had grown very important and rich, helped by the trade with French colonies in America. Since these people had money, the state, the clergy and the nobility were indebted to them. However, the middle class had no political rights. It had no social status, and its members had to suffer many humiliations.

The Artisans and City Workers—The condition of the city poor—workers and artisans—was inhuman in the 18th-century France. They were looked upon as inferior creatures without any rights. No worker could leave his job for another without the employer's consent and a certificate of good conduct. Workers not having a certificate could be arrested. They had to toil for long hours from early morning till late at night. They, too, paid heavy taxes.

The oppressed workers formed many secret societies and often resorted to strikes and rebellion. This group was to become the mainstay of the French Revolution, and the city of Paris with a population of more than 500,000 was to play an important part in it. In this number was an army of rebels, waiting for an opportunity to strike at the old order.

The Monarchy

At the head of the French state stood the king, an absolute monarch. Louis XVI was the king of France when the revolution broke out. He was a man of mediocre intelligence, obstinate and indifferent to the work of the government. Brain work, it is said, depressed him. His beautiful but 'empty-headed' wife, Marie Antoinette, squandered money on festivities and interfered in state appointments in order to promote her favourites. Louis, too, showered favours and pensions upon his friends. The state was always faced by financial troubles as one would expect. Keeping huge armies and waging wars made matters worse. Finally, it brought the state to bankruptcy.

The Intellecutal Movement

Discontent or even wretchedness is not enough to make a successful revolution. Someone must help the discontented to focus on an 'enemy' and provide ideals to fight for. In other words, revolutionary thinking and ideas must precede revolutionary action. France in the 18th century had many revolutionary thinkers. Without the ideas spread by these philosophers, the French Revolution would simply have been an outbreak of violence.

Rationalism: the Age of Reason

Because of the ideas expressed by the French intellectuals, the 18th century has been called the *Age of Reason*. Christianity had taught that man was born to suffer. The French revolutionary philosophers asserted that man was born to be happy. They believed that man can attain happiness if reason is allowed to destroy prejudice and reform man's institutions. They either denied the existance of God or ignored Him. In place of God they asserted the doctrine of 'Nature' and the need to understand its laws. They urged faith in reason. The power of reason alone, they said, was sufficient to build a perfect society.

Attack on the Clergy

The clergy were the first to feel the brunt of the French philosophers. A long series of scientific advances dating from the Renaissance helped in their campaign against the clergy. Voltaire, one of the most famous French writers of the time, though not an atheist, believed all religions absurd and contrary to reason. After Voltaire, other philosophers, atheists and materialists, gained popularity. They believed that man's destiny lay in this world rather than in heaven. Writings attacking religion fed the fires of revolution because the Church gave support to autocratic monarchy and the old order.

8.9 Voltaire

The Economists

The French economists of the time were called 'physiocrats'. They believed in *laissez faire* about which you have read in the last chapter. According to this theory you may remember, a person must be left free to manage and dispose of his propert

8.10 Rousseau

in the way he thinks best. Like the English and American revolutionaries before them, the physiocrats said that taxes should be imposed only with the consent of those on whom they were levied. These ideas were a direct denial of the privileges and feudal rights that protected the upper classes.

Democracy

The philosopher-writer, Montesquieu, thought about the kind of government that is best suited to man and outlined the principles of constitutional monarchy. However, it was Jean Jacques Rousseau who asserted the doctrine of popular sovereignty and democracy. He said, 'Man is born free, yet everywhere he is in chains.' He talked of the 'state of nature' when man was free, and said that freedom was lost following the emergence of property. He recognized property in modern societies as a 'necessary evil'. What was needed, said Rousseau, was a new 'social contract' to guarantee the freedom, equality and happiness which man had enjoyed in the state of nature. Rousseau's theories also contained a principle that had been written into the American Declaration of Independence: no political system can maintain itself without 'the consent of the governed'.

Outbreak of the Revolution

In 1789, Louis XVI's need for money compelled him to agree to a meeting of the

8.11 J.L. David's painting of the meeting of the National Assembly on 20 June 1789. The members of the National Assembly took an oath at this meeting, held in a tennis court, that they would continue to meet till a constitution was secured.

States General—the old feudal assembly. Louis wanted to obtain its consent for new loans and taxes. All three Estates were represented in it but each one held a separate meeting. On 17 June 1789, members of the Third Estate, claiming to represent 96 per cent of the nation's population, declared themselves the National Assembly. On 20 June, they found their meeting-hall occupied by royal guards but, determined to meet, they moved to the nearby royal tennis court to work out a constitution. Louis then made preparations to break up the Assembly. Troops were called; rumours spread that leading members of the Assembly would soon be arrested. This enraged the people, who began to gather in their thousands. They were soon joined by the guards. They surrounded the Bastille, a state prison, on 14 July. After a four-hour siege, they broke open the doors, freeing all the prisoners. The fall of the Bastille symbolized the fall of autocracy. July 14 is celebrated every year as a national holiday in France.

After 14 July 1789, Louis XVI was king only in name. The National Assembly began to enact laws. Following the fall of the Bastille, the revolt spread to other towns and cities and finally into the countryside. The National Assembly adopted the famous *Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen.* It specified the equality of all men before the law, eligibility of all citizens for all pubic offices, freedom

8.12 Storming of the Bastille

8.13 'Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen', adopted by the National Assembly on 26 August 1789. Article 1 of the Declaration stated : "Men are born and remain free and equal in rights."

from arrest or punishment without proven cause, freedom of speech and freedom of the press. Most important of all, to the middle class, it required equitable distribution of the burdens of taxation and rights of private property. The revolutionary importance of this declaration for Europe cannot be overestimated. Every government in Europe was based on privilege. If these ideas were applied, the entire old order of Europe would be destroyed.

War and End of Monarchy

The people of France were soon involved in a war to defend the Revolution and the nation. Many nobles and clerics fled the country and encouraged foreign governments to intervene in France against the Revolution. The king and queen tried to escape from France in disguise but they were recognized and brought back as captives and traitors.

The old National Assembly was replaced

by a Legislative Assembly. This Assembly took over the property of those people who had fled. It sent word to the Austrian emperor, who was mobilizing support against France, to renounce every treaty directed against the French nation. When the emperor refused, the Legislative Assembly declared war.

Soon France was fighting Austria, Prussia, and Savoy in Italy. The three were supported by an army of the French exiles.

France had destroyed feudalism and monarchy and founded new institutions based on liberty and equality, whereas in these countries the old way of life remained. The commander-in-chief of the Austro-Prussian forces stated that the aim was to suppress anarchy in France and to restore the king's authority. The French revolutionaries replied by offering 'fraternity and assistance' to all people wishing to destroy the old order in their countries.

8.14 J.L. David's sketch of Marie Antoinette on the way to the execution

The king and queen were tried and executed in 1793. This was followed by a declaration of war against Britain, Holland, Spain and Hungary. Then, a radical group, the Jacobins, believing in direct democracy, came to power. Fearing that the Revolution was in danger, this group took to strong measures to crush forces inimical to the Revolution. In 14 months, some 17,000 people, including those who were innocent, were tried and executed. Some people have called it the "Reign of Terror". Later, a new constitution was drawn up. But the army became increasingly powerful and this led to the rise of Napoleon, who was soon to declare himself Emperor of the French Republic.

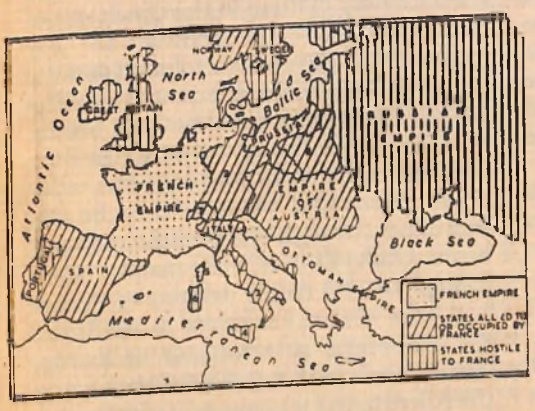
The Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars

From 1792 to 1815, France was engaged in war almost continuously. It

8.15 J.L. David's painting of Napoleon, 1800

was a war between France and other states. Some historians have termed it as an international civil war because it was fought between revolutionary France and countries upholding the old order. In this war, France was alone. However, until Napoleon became emperor, almost every enlightened person in the world sympathized with the French Revolution.

Between 1793 and 1796 French armies conquered almost all of western Europe. When Napoleon pressed on to Malta, Egypt and Syria (1797-99), the French were ousted from Italy. After Napoleon seized power, France recovered the territories she had lost and defeated Austria in 1805, Prussia in 1806, and Russia in 1807. On the sea the French could not score against the stronger British navy. Finally, an alliance of almost all Europe defeated France at Leibzig in 1813. These allied forces later occupied Paris, and Napoleon was defeated. His attempt at recovery was foiled at the battle of Waterloo in June 1815. The peace settlement, which involved all Europe, took place at the Congress of Vienna.



Europe in 1810. 1. Denmark; 2. Confederation of the Rhine; 3. Kingdom of Naples; 4. Kingdom of Sicily; 5. Corsica; 6. Sardinia; 7. Switzerland; 8. Grand Duchy of Warsaw

Consequences of the Revolution

A major result of the Revolution was the destruction of feudalism in France. All the laws of the old feudal regime were annulled. Church lands and lands held in common by the community were bought by the middle classes. The lands of nobles were confiscated. Priviledged classes were abolished. After Napoleon seized power, the Napoleonic Code was introduced. Many elements of this Code remained in force for a long time; some of them exist even to this day. Another lasting result of the Revolution in France was the building up of a new economic system in place of the feudal system which had been overthrown. This system was capitalism about which you have read in Chapter 7. Even the restored monarchy could not bring back the feudal system or destroy the new economic institutions that had come into being.

The French Revolution gave the term 'nation' its modern meaning. A nation is not the territory that the people belonging to it inhabit but the people themselves. France was not merely the territories known as France but the 'French people'. From this followed the idea of sovereignty, that a nation recognizes no law or authority above its own. And if a nation is sovereign, that means the people constituting the nation are the source of all power and authority. There cannot be any rulers above the people, only a republic in which the government derives its authority from the people and is answerable to the people. It is interesting to remember that when Napoleon became emperor he called himself the 'Emperor of

the French Republic'. Such was the strength of the idea of people's sovereignty. It was this idea of the people being the sovereign that gave France her military strength. The entire nation was united behind the army which consisted of revolutionary citizens. In a war in which almost all of Europe was ranged against France, she would have had no chance with just a mercenary army.

Under the Jacobin constitution, all people were given the right to vote and the right of insurrection. The constitution stated that the government must provide the people with work or livelihood. The happiness of all was proclaimed as the aim of government. Though it was never really put into effect, it was the first genuinely democratic constitution in history. The government abolished slavery in the French colonies. Napoleon's rise to power was a step backward. However, though he destroyed the Republic and established an empire, the idea of the republic could not be destroyed. After the defeat of Napoleon, the old ruling dynasty of France was restored to power. However, within a few years, in 1830, there was another outbreak of revolution. In 1848, the monarchy was again overthrown though it soon reappeared. Finally, in 1871, the Republic was again proclaimed.

The Revolution had come about with the support and blood of common people—the city poor and the peasants. In 1792, for the first time in history, workers, peasants and other non-propertied classes were given equal political rights.

The right to vote and elect representatives did not solve the problems of the common people. The peasants got their lands. But to the workers and artisans—the people who were the backbone of the revolutionary movement—the Revolution did not bring real equality. To them, real equality could come only with economic equality. France soon became one of the first countries where the ideas of social equality, of socialism, gave rise to a new kind of political movement.

REVOLUTIONARY AND NATIONALIST MOVEMENTS AFTER 1815

Impact of French Revolution on the World

The French Revolution had been a worldshaking event. For years to come its direct influence was felt in many parts of the world. It inspired revolutionary movements in almost every country of Europe and in South and Central America. For a long time the French Revolution became the classic example of a revolution which people of many nations tried to emulate. The impact of the French Revolution can be summed up in the words of T. Kolokotrones, one of the revolutionary fighters in the Greek war of independence: "According to my judgement, the French Revolution and the doings of Napoleon opened the eyes of the world. The nations knew nothing before, and the people thought that kings were gods upon the earth and that they were bound to say that whatever they did was well done. Through this present change it is more difficult to rule the people." Even though the old ruling dynasty of France had been restored to power in 1815, and the autocratic governments of Europe found themselves safe for the time being, the rulers found it increasingly difficult to rule the people.

Some of the changes that took place in many parts of Europe and the Americas in the early 19th century were the

8.16 Painting by the Spanish artist Goya : the killing of Spanish guerillas by French soldiers. Under Napoleon, the revolutionary war became a war of conquest.

immediate, direct consequences of the Revolution and the Napoleonic wars. The wars in which France was engaged with other European powers had resulted in the French occupation of vast areas of Europe for some time. The French soldiers, wherever they went, carried with them ideas of liberty and equality, shaking the old feudal order. They destroyed serfdom in areas which came under their occupation and modernized the systems of administration. Under Napoleon, the French had become conquerors instead of liberators. The countries which organized popular resistance against the French occupation carried out reforms in their social and political system. The leading powers of Europe did not succeed in restoring the old order either in France or in the countries that the Revolution had reached. The political and social systems of the 18th century had received a heavy blow. They were soon to die in most of Europe under the impact of the revolutionary movements that sprang up everywhere in Europe.

Revolutions in America

The impact of the Revolution was felt on the far away American continent. Revolutionary France had abolished slavery in her colonies. The former French colony of Haiti became a republic. This was

the first republic established by the black people, formerly slaves, in the Americas. Inspired by this example, revolutionary movements arose in the Americas to overthrow foreign rule, to abolish slavery and to establish independent republics. The chief European imperialist powers in Central and South America were Spain and Portugal. Spain had been occupied by France, and Portugal was involved in a conflict with France. During the early 19th century, these two imperialist countries were cut off from their colonies, with the result that most of the Portuguese and Spanish colonies in Central and South America became independent. The movements for independence in these countries had earlier been inspired by the successful War of American Independence. The French Revolution ensured their success. By the third decade of the 19th century, almost entire Central and South America had been liberated from the Spanish and the Portuguese rule and a number of independent republics were established. In these republics slavery was abolished. It, however, persisted in the United States for a few more decades where it was finally abolished following the Civil War about which you have read before in this chapter. Simon Bolivar, Bernardo O'Higgins and San Martin were the great leaders in South America at this time.

Revolutionary Movements in Europe

The period after 1815 saw the emergence of revolutionary activity in every country in Europe. In some countries, the aim of the revolutionaries was the overthrow of autocratic rulers and the abolition of serfdom; in some it was the overthrow of foreign rule and in some others it was social, political and economic reforms. Nationalism emerged as a major force in this period. However, it is interesting to see that this nationalism was neither exclusive nor chauvinistic. Revolutionaries fighting for independence did not fight for their independence alone or against the despotism of their rulers only. They did not want their nation to dominate other nations. They were in fact inspired by the aim of fighting against despotism everywhere. They were united into a kind of international brotherhood of peoples against all despots. The South American revolutionaries O'Higgins, Simon Bolivar and San Martin fought for the independence of many countries in South America. Mazzini, one of the foremost leaders of the struggle for Italian unification and independence, formed a number of organizations such as Young Poland, Young Germany and Young Italy for the liberation of these countries. Garibaldi, another great leader of the Italian revolutionaries, fought for the freedom of the peoples of South America.

The great English poet Lord Byron was also one of these revolutionaries. He fought for the freedom of Greece and died there. He declared that he would war with every despotism in every nation. These words of Byron best sum up the attitude of a large number of revolutionaries of the time.

However, as the revolutionaries were united in their common aim of overthrowing despotism everywhere, the autocratic governments also were united to suppress every revolt and movement against any despotism. In 1815, the rulers of Austria, Britain, Russia and Prussia formed an alliance. One of the major declared aims of this alliance was to suppress any attempt by the people to

8.17 Allegorical representation of equality between men

overthrow a ruler whom these countries considered the 'legitimate' ruler of the country. The new ruler of France also soon joined this alliance. Austria, Russia and Prussia had formed another alliance which they called the *Holy Alliance*. This alliance which many other rulers also joined was even more openly opposed to democratic ideas and movements than the first. After 1815 the rulers of Europe tried to suppress all movements for freedom and democracy in their own as well as in other countries. In 1821, for example, Austria sent her armies into Naples and Piedmont in Italy to suppress the uprisings that had taken place there. In many countries of Europe, the freedom of the press was abolished and a large number of spies were recruited to keep watch on the activities of the revolutionaries.

The oppressive measures introduced by the rulers failed to curb the revolutionary movements in Europe. In 1830 revolutions broke out in a number of countries. The French monarch fled away to England and was succeeded by Louis Philippe who promised to rule according to the wishes of the people. There was a revolt in Belgium for freedom from Holland. Insurrections broke out in various states of Italy and Germany and in Poland. Although most of these revolts were suppressed, the independence of two new

nations was recognized—of Greece in 1830 and of Belgium in 1839.

Revolutions of 1848

Within a few years after the revolts of 1830 had been suppressed, the revolutionary movements in Europe again gained momentum. In 1848, revolutions broke out in almost every country of Europe, which dealt a mortal blow to the countries of the Holy Alliance. Early in 1848, there was a revolt in Italy. In February, revolution broke out in France and Louis Philippe who had been installed as king after the 1830 revolution fled away. France again became a republic for some time but power was usurped by Louis Napoleon Bonaparte, popularly known as Napoleon III, a nephew of Napoleon, in 1852. France finally in 1871 when the empire of Louis Bonaparte collapsed.

The revolution in France was soon followed by uprisings in many towns of Germany. The rulers of many German states, including Prussia which was a member of the Holy Alliance, agreed to introduce many reforms. Simultaneously, there were uprisings in Vienna, the capital, and in other towns of the Austrian empire, another member of the Holy Alliance. Metternich, the Chancellor of the empire, who was the most hated man in Europe, had to flee. The Austrian empire in those days was a large empire ruling over many nations of Europe. It ruled over Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia,

8.18 Revolutions broke out all over Europe in 1848. The people setting the throne of the French king, Louis Philippe, on fire.

8.19 After an uprising in Berlin, the people took possession of the city on 18 March 1848.

Rumania, Poland, Yugoslavia and many other areas. Revolts had broken out in all the subject nations of the empire as well as in Austria. Even though these revolts did not succeed, the empire was badly shaken.

The revolutions of 1848 failed to overthrow the established oppressive regimes of Europe though they considerably weakened them. The most significant aspect of the 1848 revolutions was the emergence of a new political force in Europe. You have read in Chapter 7 about the rise of a new social class in Europe following the Industrial Revolution—the working class. The workers were a major force in the revolutions of 1848. Their aim was not merely the overthrow of autocracies but also the destruction of the economic system that had grown with the Industrial Revolution—capitalism. Other

8.20 Scene of an uprising in Vienna, May 1848

participants in the revolutions—the capitalists, the merchants and other people belonging to the middle class—wanted constitutional reforms. They looked upon the demands of the workers for social revolution with horror. When the revolutionary movements were at their peak, they decided to compromise with the rulers.

Growth of Democracy in England

You have read in Chapter 6 that the first successful revolution that overthrew the autocratic monarchy took place in England in the seventeenth century. This had resulted in the establishment of the supremacy of Parliament in England. However, Parliament at that time was not a truly democratic institution. The right to vote was limited to a very small percentage of the population. Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the demand for making Parliament a democratic institution grew. Campaigns to extend the right to vote to every citizen were waged. These campaigns were led by radical leaders who represented the interests of workers, and the city poor, and by those representing the industrialists. Until 1832, representation in Parliament was based not on population but on election districts—counties and boroughs. Many of these were no longer populated excepted for a few houses, while new towns and cities with large populations had no representation. Under the Act of 1832, the old unpopulated areas or 'rotten boroughs', as they were called, were abolished and their seats were given to new towns and cities. At this time also, the right to vote was extended to those who owned or rented a house of a certain value in the towns or in villages. This formed only about 10 per cent of the population. You have read of the Chartist Movement which was launched to get the right to vote for workers. Though the movement declined in the 1850's, it left its influence and through the Acts of 1867, 1882, 1918 and 1929, all adult citizens were enfranchised. Thus it was over 200 years after Parliament became supreme that it became also a truly representative body of the British people.

Unification of Germany

One of the major features of the 19th century history of Europe was the struggles for national unification and independence. The achievement of independence by Greece and Belgium has been mentioned before. Germany and Italy

were the other two important nations which emerged as united, independent states in the 19th century.

In the 18th century, Germany was divided into a number of states. Some of these states were very small and did not extend beyond the limits of a city. During the Napoleonic wars, many of these states ceased to exist. At the end of the wars there were still thirty-eight independent states in Germany. Among them Prussia, Wurtemberg, Bavaria, and Saxony were fairly large. Militarily and in extent, Prussia was the most powerful. It was also the most reactionary. The big landlords of Prussia known as *Junkers* formed the dominant section in Prussian society. Prussia was also one of the leaders of the Holy Alliance.

The division of Germany into a number of states had hampered the economic development of Germany. The social and political system in these states was also very backward. With the growth of national consciousness, particularly after the French Revolution, the people of these states had started demanding the national unification of Germany, establishment of democratic government and social and economic reforms. In 1815, the German states along with Austria were organised into a Germanic Confederation. However, each state tried to preserve its independence and its oppressive political and social system.

In 1848 revolts occurred in every German state and the rulers were forced to grant democratic constitutions. To unite Germany and to frame a constituion for the united Germany, a constituent assembly met in Frankfurt. The initial success of the revolts had made the German democrats and nationalists think that victory had been achieved. While they debated the clauses of the constitution, the rulers prepared themselves to suppress the movement. The Frankfurt Assembly proposed the unification of Germany as a constitutional monarchy under the King of Prussia who would become emperor of Germany. However, the King of Prussia declined the offer. He did not wish to accept the crown from the elected representatives of the people. Repression soon followed and even the rights that people had won in the initial stages of the revolution were taken away. Thousands of German revolutionaries had to flee the country and live in exile.

With the failure of the revolution of 1848 to unify Germany, one phase in the struggle for unification came to an end. Now Germany was to be unified not into a democratic country by the efforts of revolutionaries but by the rulers into a militaristic empire. The leader of this policy was Bismarck who belonged to a Prussian aristocratic family. He wanted to preserve the predominance of the landed aristocrats and the army in the united German state and to achieve the unification of Germany under the leadership of the Prussian monarchy. He described his policy of unification as one of 'blood and iron'.

The policy of 'blood and iron' meant a policy of war. The first aim he pursued was the elimination of Austria from the Germanic Confederation. He aligned with Austria in a war against Denmark over the possession of Schleswig and Holstein. After Denmark's defeat, he entered into an alliance with Italy against Austria, defeated Austria and dissolved the Germanic Confederation. Thus Austria was separated from other German states. In place of the old Confederation, he united 22 states of Germany into North

German Confederation in 1866. The constitution of this Confederation made the king of Prussia the hereditary head of the Confederation.

The unification of Germany was completed as a result of a war between Prussia and France. In 1870, Louis Bonaparte, whose power had begun to collapse, declared war on Prussia in the hope of maintaining his empire through a military victory. The war was partly provoked by Bismarck. It proved disastrous for the empire of Louis Bonaparte. The French armies were defeated and the French emperor was captured. After her defeat, France finally became a republic. Germany's unification was completed as a result of the war which enabled Bismarck to absorb the remaining German states into a united Germany. The formal ceremony at which King William I of Prussia took the title of German Emperor was not held on German soil. It took place at Versailles in France, in the palace of the French kings.

After her unification, Germany emerged as a very strong power in Europe. It underwent heavy industrialization in a very short period and soon joined the scramble for colonies. However, the militarism which made Germany into a great power was to prove disastrous to the people of Germany in the years to come.

Unification of Italy

Like Germany, Italy was also divided into a number of states. The major states in the early 19th century Italy were Sardinia, Lombardy, Venetia, Kingdom of the Two Sicilies (Sicily and Naples), Papal States, Tuscany, Parma and Modena. Of these the most powerful was the kingdom of Sardinia. Venetia and Lombardy were under Austrian occupation. Thus the Italian people were faced with the task of expelling the Austrians and forcing the rulers of independent states to unite. The struggle for Italian independence and unification was organized by the two famous revolutionaries of Italy whose names have been mentioned in the earlier part of this chapter—Giuseppe Mazzini and Giuseppe Garibaldi. The movement led by them is known as the 'Young Italy' movement. It aimed at the independence and unification of Italy and the establishment of a republic there. In 1848, as in other parts of Europe, revolutionary uprisings had broken out in Italy and the rulers were forced to grant certain democratic reforms to the people. However, the goal of independence and unification was still distant.

8.21 Giuseppe Mazzini

The king of Sardinia had introduced many reforms in the political system of his kingdom after the revolution of 1848. After 1848, his prime minister, Count Cavour, took the initiative of uniting Italy under the leadership of Sardinia. Cavour's policy in some ways was similar to that followed by Bismarck in Germany. Hoping to gain the support of Britain and France, he entered the Crimean war in 1853-56 against Russia even though Sardinia had no dispute with Russia. However, nothing came out of this war. In 1859, Cavour entered into an alliance with Louis Bonaparte and went to war with Austria. Although France soon withdrew from the war, Austria was ousted from Lombardy, which was taken over by Sardinia. Tuscany, Modena, Parma and the Papal States of the north also joined Sardinia. Venetia, however, was still under Austrian occupation. The other states that remained to be united with Sardinia were the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies and Rome which was under the rule of the Pope.

Meanwhile an uprising had broken out in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Garibaldi marched into the island of Sicily with his revolutionary fighters and liberated it from the rule of the king within three months. Then he marched to Naples in support of the revolt that had already broken out there. By the end of November 1860 the entire Kingdom of the Two Sicilies had been liberated. The Italian revolutionaries were not perhaps strong enough to push the victory of the people in the Sicilies further with a view to establishing a united republic of Italy. They surrendered the former kingdom to the King of Sardinia, Victor Emmanuel II, who then took the title of King of Italy in 1861. Garibaldi, the revolutionary who had played such a vital role in the liberation and unification of Italy, now retired to lead a life of obscurity.

Rome was still outside the kingdom of Italy. It was ruled over by the Pope with the help of the French soldiers provided to him by Louis Bonaparte. When the war between France and Prussia broke out in 1870, Bonaparte was forced to withdraw his troops from Rome. Italian soldiers occupied the city of Rome in 1870, and in July 1871, Rome became the capital of united Italy. In spite of the important role played by democratic and revolutionary leaders such as Mazzini and Garibaldi in the struggle for Italy's liberation and unification, Italy also, like Germany, became a monarchy.

The unification of Germany and Italy, in spite of the fact that democracy was not completely victorious there, marked a great advance in the history of the two countries.

The revolutions and movements described above, along with the Industrial Revolution, deeply influenced the course of the history of mankind. The forces that generated these revolutions and movements were also at work in other countries. Their success in one place fed the fires of revolt and encouraged change in the rest of the world. They are still being felt today, transforming social, political and economic life everywhere.

One of the aspects of the movements described so far is the gradual growth of political democracy, that is, the ever increasing participation of increasing number of people in the political life of a country. This happened in countries where the form of government became republican as well as in those which remained monarchies such as England, Germany and Italy. The period of autocracies and privileged aristocracies

was gradually coming to an end. Alongside, there were also the movements for national unity and national independence. These movements were victorious in Italy, Germany, and some other countries of Europe and in the Americas. In a few more decades they were to succeed in the rest of Europe and in the recent period in most of the world.

It is necessary to remember here that the new political and economic system that was emerging in Europe in the 19th century was also creating imperialism. The period of the triumph of democracy and nationalism in Europe was also the period of the conquest of Asia and Africa by the imperialist powers of Europe. The 19th century saw the beginning of the revolts against imperialism in Asia and Africa. There were two mighty rebellions—the revolt of 1857 in India and the Taiping rebellion in China. Later, nationalist movements in the modern sense began to be organized in all countries of Asia and Africa. You will read about these in a later chapter.

SOCIALIST MOVEMENT

You have read in Chapter 7 about the emergence of a new social and economic system called capitalism. Under this system, the means of production such as factories and the things produced by factories were owned and controlled by a few people. The vast majority of the people who worked in the factories had no rights. Their conditions of work and living were miserable. They were frequently without jobs. The workers gradually began to organize themselves into trade unions to protect their common rights though for a long time there were laws against workers combining themselves into unions. The governments were also forced to pass laws against some of the worse features of capitalism. For example, laws to protect workers from unsafe conditions of work were passed in many countries. Some progress was also made in regulating hours of work.

Some workers had begun to think that machines were the cause of their misery. In England, there was a movement to break machines led by the Luddites, so named after their leader Ned Ludd. However, they soon realized that the destruction of machines would not put an end to their misery. In England, a new political movement started which aimed at winning political rights for workers. This was the Chartist movement about which you have read before.

Early Socialists

The greatest challenge to capitalism came from the ideas of socialism and the movements based on those ideas. The idea grew that capitalism itself is evil and that it needs to be replaced by a different kind of social and economic system in which the means of production would be owned by the society as a whole and not by a few individuals.

Many philosophers and reformers in the past had expressed their revulsion against inequalities in society and in favour of a system in which everyone would be equal. However, these ideas had remained as mere dreams. The French Revolution of 1789 with its promise of equality had given a new impetus to these ideas. But the French Revolution, while it put an end to the autocratic rule of the French king, did not usher in an era of equality in economic, social and political life. The wide gap between the aims of the French Revolution and the actual conditions in France after the revolution

created serious discontent among the people. It led to an attempt to overthrow the existing government in France with a view to building a society based on socialist ideas. This attempt, known as Babeuf's Conspiracy, is an important event in the history of socialism.

The Conspiracy, as the name indicates, was the work of Babeuf. He was born in 1760 and had participated in the French Revolution. He organized a secret society called the Society of the Equals. Babeuf, in a manifesto, had declared, "Nature gave everyone an equal right to the enjoyment of all goods.....In a true society, there is no room for either rich or poor". He said that it was necessary to make another revolution which would do away "with the terrible contrasts between rich and poor, masters and servants ! The time has come to set up the republic of equals, whose welcoming doors will be open to all mankind." The society planned an uprising but the government came to know of the plan and in May 1796, a large number of leaders including Babeuf were arrested. Babeuf was executed in 1797. Though Babeuf's attempt at overthrowing the government had failed, his ideas exercised an important influence on the growth of socialist movement.

8.22 Francois–Noel Babeuf

There was another group of socialists in the early history of socialism which included Saint-Simon (1760-1825), Charles Fourier (1772-1837), and Robert Owen (1771-1858). They viewed property in relation to its usefulness to society. They recognized the evils of capitalism and proposed the establishment of a new and better system of society in its place. Saint-Simon coined the slogan, 'from each according to his capacity, to each according to his work'. They visualized a society free from exploitation of any kind and one in which all would contribute their best and would share the fruits of their labour. However, the methods they advocated for the establishment of such a society were impracticable and ineffective. Hence they came to be called utopian socialists.

There were many other philosophers and revolutionaries who helped in spreading ideas of socialism. One of the most prominent among them was Louis-Auguste Blanqui (1805-81) who played a leading role in every uprising in Paris from the 1830's to 1871. He believed that through a revolutionary conspiracy, power could be captured to bring about socialism. When he died, 200,000 workers

joined the funeral procession in Paris.

Many groups and organisations were also formed to spread socialist ideas and organise workers. One of these was the League of the Just which had members in many countries of Europe. Its slogan was 'All men are brothers'. Thus internationalism was one of its important features. In 1847, its name was changed to the Communist League and it declared as its aim, "the downfall of the *bourgeoisie*, the rule of the proletariat, the overthrow of the old society of middle class, based on class distinction, and the establishment of a new society without classes and without private property." Its journal carried the slogan, "Proletarians of all lands, unite !" It instructed Karl Marx and Frederick Engels to draft a manifesto.

Marxian Socialism

The *Communist Manifesto* first appeared in German in February 1848. The influence of this document in the history of the socialist movement is without a rival. It was the work of Karl Marx (1818-83) and his lifelong associate Frederick Engels (1820-95). Both Marx and Engels were born in Germany, but spent much of their life outside Germany, mostly in England. Through their work in the socialist movement and through their numerous writings, they gave a new direction to socialist ideology and movement. Their philosophy is known as Marxism and it has influenced almost every field of knowledge. Their view of socialism is called *scientific socialism*.

The *Communist Manifesto* stated that the aim of workers all over the world was the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of socialism. "In place of the old *bourgeois* society, with its classes and class differences", it said "appears an

Manifest
der
Kommunistischen Partei.

Veröffentlicht im Februar 1848.

Proletarier aller Länder vereinigt euch.

London.

Gedruckt in der Office der „Bildungs-Gesellschaft für Arbeiter" von J. E. Burghard
46, Liverpool Street, Bloomsbury.

8.23 Cover page of the first edition of the Communist Manifesto, published in London in February 1848, in German

association in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all". It pointed out that socialism was not merely desirable, but also inevitable. Capitalism, it said, does not serve the needs of man and, like other social and economic systems in history, it would be replaced by a system better suited to human needs. Marx analysed the working of capitalism in his famous work *Das Kapital* (Capital) and pointed out the characteristics that would lead to its destruction. According to him, workers produce more 'value' than they get in the

form of wages, the difference being appropriated by the capitalists in the form of profits. This, Marx said, constitutes the basis of conflict in capitalist society. Profits can be increased at the cost of workers' wages and, therefore, the interests of workers and capitalists are irreconcilable. He pointed out that economic crises were inevitable under capitalism because of the discrepancy between the purchasing power of workers and total production. These crises would be resolved only if the private ownership of the means of production is abolished and the profit motive eliminated from the system of production. With this, production would be carried on for social good rather than for profits for a few. The exploiting classes would disappear and a classless society would emerge in which there would be no difference between what was good for the individual and for society as a whole. Marx and Engels believed that this would be accomplished by the working class which was the most revolutionary class in capitalist society. They advocated that the emancipation of the working class would emancipate the whole human race from all traces of social injustice.

8.24 Karl Marx addressing a meeting in London in the 1850's

Around the time the *Communist Manifesto* was published, revolutions broke out in almost every country in Europe. You have read about these revolutions of 1848 before. These revolts aimed at the overthrow of autocratic governments, establishment of democracy and also, in countries such as Italy and Germany, at national unification. One of the major forces in these revolutions were the workers who had been inspired by ideas of socialism. The Communist League participated in these revolutions in many countries. However, all these revolutions were suppressed.

With the failure of the 1848 revolutions, the socialist movement seems to have abated. However, it was soon to rise in strength again. One of the outstanding features of the various socialist groups was their internationalist character. You have read about the Communist League before. In Britain, an organisation called the Society of Fraternal Democrats had been formed in 1846. It had close links with other similar organizations in Europe and with the Chartists in Britain. All these organisations emphasised the idea that

the cause of the working class in all countries was the same. A leader of the Society of Fraternal Democrats, for example, said in 1848, "I appeal to the oppressed classes in every country to unite for the common cause." The people, according to him, were the workers and peasants, and the cause of the people was "the cause of labour, of labour enslaved and exploited....In all countries there are people who grow corn and eat potatoes, who make clothes and wear rags, who build houses and live in wretched hovels. Do not the workers of all nations have the same reason for complaint and the same causes of distress? Have they not, therefore, the same just cause?" It was these ideas of international solidarity that were to remain the fundamental features of the socialist movement in the coming years.

The First International

One of the most important events in the history of the socialist movement was the formation in 1864 of the International Working Men's Association, or the First International, as it is called. With its formation, it has been said, " Socialism stepped on the stage of history as a world movement". The meeting at which it was formed took place in London and was attended by delegates from Britain, France, Italy, Germany, Poland and Switzerland. Marx drafted 'An Address to the Working Classes' which has become famous as the 'Inaugural Address of the International Working Men's Association'. This "Address" along with the General Rules outlined the principles and aims of the International. The emancipation of the working classes, it was declared, must be won by the working classes themselves. The central aim of the International was declared to be the total 'abolition of all class rule'. The universal character of the struggle of the working class was emphasised. The Address ended with the slogan, as in the *Communist Manifesto*, "Proletarians of all lands, unite!"

From the time of its formation, the International was considered by the governments of the time as a menace and attempts were made to exterminate it. It was persecuted and declared illegal in many countries.

During the short period of its existence, the International exercised a tremendous influence on workers' movements in Europe and North America. It played a particularly important role in creating bonds of international solidarity by arranging aid from workers of many countries in support of the workers' struggle in any particular country. For example, when in 1867, 5000 bronze workers in Paris who had formed a union were threatened with dismissal, the International collected money for them from workers in other countries and forced the factory owners to withdraw their threats. Though its membership was not very large, it was feared by the rulers for the sense of workers' solidarity that it had succeeded in creating.

One of the finest examples of workers' solidarity was evidenced at the time of the war between Prussia and France in 1870. You have read about this war earlier in the context of the unification of Germany. The war was condemned both by the German and French workers as a crime committed by the French and Prussian dynasties. The French and German branches of the International sent messages of good wishes and solidarity to each other. The Social Democratic Party in Germany in a message to the French workers, said,

"...we shall never forget that the workers of all nations are our friends and the despots of all nations are our enemies." After the defeat of the French army, the German government announced its intention to annex Alsace-Lorraine from France. The German workers protested against this and there were many demonstrations in various cities of Germany. All the leaders of German workers were arrested on charges of treason.

The Paris Commune, 1871

The war between France and Prussia led to another important development—an uprising by the workers of Paris and the seizure of power by them. This is one of the most important events in the history of socialism. Within a few weeks of the war the French army had been defeated and the French emperor Louis Bonaparte had been taken prisoner. A new government had come into being and had declared France a republic. This government was dominated by the propertied classes and had agreed to Bismarck's terms for truce including the surrender of Paris, cession of Alsace-Lorraine and the payment of a huge war indemnity. The workers of Paris regarded the surrender by the government as treacherous. They refused to surrender. The government withdrew from Paris on 18 February 1871 and asked for German help to crush Paris. The workers of Paris elected a council which on 28 March 1871 assumed the title of the Paris Commune. It was elected by universal adult franchise and represented the workers and the lower middle classes of Paris. It proclaimed as its aim "the ending...of exploitation, stock-exchange speculation, monopolies and privileges to which the proletariat attributes its slavery, and the fatherland its misery and ruin". All public offices were elected by universal suffrage with people having the right to recall.

The Paris Commune was the result of an upsurge in which the workers had played the dominant role, the result of the first workers' revolution in history. It was soon drowned in blood. The French government which had established its headquarters in Versailles attacked Paris with a huge army. In this they received the help of Germany also. The attacks on Paris had begun in April. On 21 May the troops entered Paris. The battle continued in the city of Paris up to 28 May when the Commune was finally exterminated. The government which had surrendered to the German invaders, however, turned on the workers of Paris with unusual ferocity. It is estimated that between 14,000 to 30,000 defenders of the Commune were slaughtered in the streets of Paris or killed by firing squads. Thousands were deported and imprisoned. The French government called it the victory of order, justice and civilization. The International's address on the Commune to its members, written by Marx, concluded with the words, "Working Men's Paris, with its Commune, will be for ever celebrated as the glorious harbinger of a new society. Its martyrs are enshrined in the great heart of the working class. Its exterminators history has already nailed to that eternal pillory from which all the prayers of their priests will not avail to redeem them".

The extermination of the Commune was followed by systematic attempts to destroy the International in almost every country of Europe. The International had organised support for the Commune and after its destruction was engaged in aiding the refugees from Paris. It appeared to gain strength in many countries of Europe in

spite of the fact that the revolution in Paris had been suppressed. However, soon it collapsed as a result of internal differences. The International was not a homogeneous organisation. It represented many different trends in the workers' movement. Due to differences on aims and methods, it was split in 1872 and was formally dissolved in 1876. In the meantime, however, the socialist parties in many countries of Europe had begun to grow and after a few years they were to unite and form another International.

The Second International

When the First International was formed, there did not exist well-organised socialist parties; there were only a few groups. However, in the 1870's and the 1880's in almost every country in Europe socialist parties were formed. Some of them became quite strong having lakhs of members. They participated in national elections and in some countries came to have a fairly large representation in the parliament. Similarly, the strength and membership of the trade unions also increased and there were many strikes. For example, the German Socialist Party had polled over 750,000 votes in 1887. It was the largest socialist party in Europe. In Britain, where the trade unions had a membership of a million, had been formed the Social Democratic Federation, the Socialist League and the Fabian Society. In France there were many socialist parties. There were socialist parties in every other country of Europe with varying strength and in USA and some other countries in the Americas. Socialist movement began to take root in Japan in the 1890's. Thus though the First International had been dissolved, the socialist movement had become a mass movement.

To unite the socialist parties in various countries into an international organisation, a Congress was held in Paris on 14 July 1889, the centenary of the French Revolution of 1789. The result of this Congress was what has come to be known as the Second International. The formation of the Second International marked a new stage in the history of socialism. An important step taken at the Congress was to make the first of May every year as a day of working class solidarity. It was decided to organise on that day a great international demonstration in such a way what "the workers in all lands and cities will simultaneously demand from the powers-that-be a limitation of the working day to eight hours". On the first of May 1890, millions of workers all over Europe and America struck work and held massive demonstrations. Since then the first of May is observed as the international working class day all over the world.

The period after the formation of the Second International saw a steady increase in the strength of the socialist parties and of trade unions. In 1914, the membership of the socialist party of Germany was over a million and it had polled over 4 million votes; in France, the socialists has polled about 1.4 million votes; in Austria, over a million. The total number of trade union membership in Germany, Britain and France alone was about 8 million. The socialist and workers' movement had become a major force in almost every country of Europe.

The most significant achievements of the Second International were its campaign against militarism and war and in asserting the principle of the basic equality of all peoples and their right to

freedom and national independence. The period from the last decade of the 19th century saw the growing militarization of every country in Europe. It was a period when war seemed imminent and every country was spending increasingly huge sums in preparing for it. Europe was getting divided into groups of warring blocs, the struggle for colonies being the main cause of conflicts between them. The struggle against militarism and the prevention of war became the major aims of the Second International and of the socialist parties affiliated to it. They expressed the conviction that capitalism was the root cause of war. They also resolved that while wars could be ended only with the destruction of capitalism, it was the duty of the socialists to prevent their occurrence and, if they broke out, to bring about their speedy end. The second International also decided that the socialists should utilize the "economic and political crisis created by the war, to rouse the masses and thereby to hasten the downfall of capitalist rule". The socialist movement had made the international solidarity of workers as a fundamental principle. When Russia and Japan were warring on each other, the leader of the Japanese socialist group and the leader of the Russian socialists were made the joint presidents of the Second International at its Congress in 1904. The socialists in many countries had resolved to call for a general strike to prevent their countries from participating in wars. They suffered at the hands of their governments who were preparing for war. Jean Jaures, the great leader of the French socialists was assassinated on the eve of the First World War for campaigning against war.

The Second International also condemned colonialism and committed the socialist parties to oppose the robbery and subjugation of colonial peoples. The 1904 Congress was attended by the Grand Old Man of the Indian national movement, Dadabhai Naoroji, who pleaded the cause of India's freedom. He was supported by the British delegates at the Congress. The President asked the Congress "to treat with the greatest reverence the statement of the Indian delegate, an old man of eighty, who had sacrificed fifty-five years of his life to the struggle for the freedom and happiness of his people". When Dadabhai Naoroji went to the rostrum, he was greeted with tumultuous cheers and appalause.

In spite of its many achievements and its growing strength, the Second International suffered from many weaknesses. Unlike the First International, it was a loose federation of socialist parties of many countries. While the socialist parties in many countries had become mass parties, basic differences had arisen among them. While some sections believed in the necessity of a revolution to overthrow capitalism, others began to believe that socialism could be achieved through gradual reforms. The latter were willing to support the existing governments in certain circumstances. Some sections in the socialist parties even favoured colonialism. On the question of war, while the attitude of the Second International was clear, many socialist parties had serious differences. Some of them thought that if they organised opposition to the war, they would be crushed. They were also not willing, as the Second International had recommended, to utilize the war, once it had broken out, to promote revolution. It was on the question of the war that the Second International suffered a fatal blow. When

the First World War broke out, most of the socialist parties extended their support to their respective governments. This had serious consequences for the socialist movement. The Second International ceased to function and the socialist movement in every country was split. With the outbreak of the First World War, an important phase in the history of the socialist movement came to a close.

Though the socialist movement did not succeed in bringing about a socialist revolution in any country in the 19th century, it brought about widespread awareness of the problems created by capitalism and the inadequacies of democracy. It also emerged as a powerful political movement in a number of countries. It was to play an increasingly important role in the coming years all over the world, making socialism, along with democracy and nationalism, the dominating factor in the history of the world in the 20th century.

EXERCISES

Things to know

1. Explain the following terms : Third Estate, Bourgeoisie, Proletariat, Junkers, Paris Commune, Means of Production, Socialism, Utopian Socialists.
2. Identify the following people, telling the part each played in the revolutions and movements described in this chapter : Jefferson, Washington, Thomas Paine, Louis XVI, Voltaire, Rousseau, Montesquieu, Napoleon, Simon Bolivar, Mazzini, Garibaldi, Cavour, Bismarck, Babeuf, Karl Marx.
3. Explain briefly the conditions that brought about the American and French revolutions.
4. What were the main ideas behind the French Revolution ?
5. Explain why the following documents were 'revolutionary' when they were written : Declaration of Independence, Declaration of the Rights of Man and Citizen, Communist Manifesto.
6. Explain the impact of the French Revolution on the Spanish colonies in America.
7. Describe the different stages in the unification of Germany and Italy.
8. When was the First International formed ? What were its main contributions to the growth of the socialist movement ?
9. When was the Second International formed ? For which other great event is that year important? What were the main aims of the Second International ?

Things to do

1. Select a suitable scale to show events on a time-line beginning with 1774 and ending with 1871. Show on this line the revolutions and movements described in this chapter and the various events connected with them.
2. Write a paper entitled 'People Revolt when Conditions become Unbearable', using the revolutions as evidence.
3. Read the 'revolutionary documents' cited in No.5 above and select statements for a bulletin board dispaly under the heading 'Ideas that Caused Revolutions'.

4. Ask your teacher to suggest books in which you can read about other revolutions and movements in detail—for example, in Latin America in the 19th century.
5. Prepare essays on the lives of persons who also participated in the revolutionary movements of countries other than their own.
6. Read a few documents connected with the socialist movement and select statements for a bulletin board dispaly, under the heading 'Ideas of Socialism'.

Things to think about and discuss

1. What is a socio-political revolution ? Why are revolutions often violent? When can a revolution be called successful ?
2. Which of the revolutions seems to have brought about the greatest change to the country where the revolution occurred? Give reasons for your answer.
3. Do you think that each of the revolutions and movements described in this chapter could truthfully be called a step forward in the progress of man ? Why or why not.
4. Why did France help the revolutionary forces in the American Revolution ?
5. Why did the achievement of national unity in Germany and Italy not result in the establishment of republics in these countries ?
6. Why were the aims of the socialist movement internationalist in character from th very beginning ? Discuss.
7. Discuss the role of Karl Marx in the history of the socialist movement.

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1889 1989

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